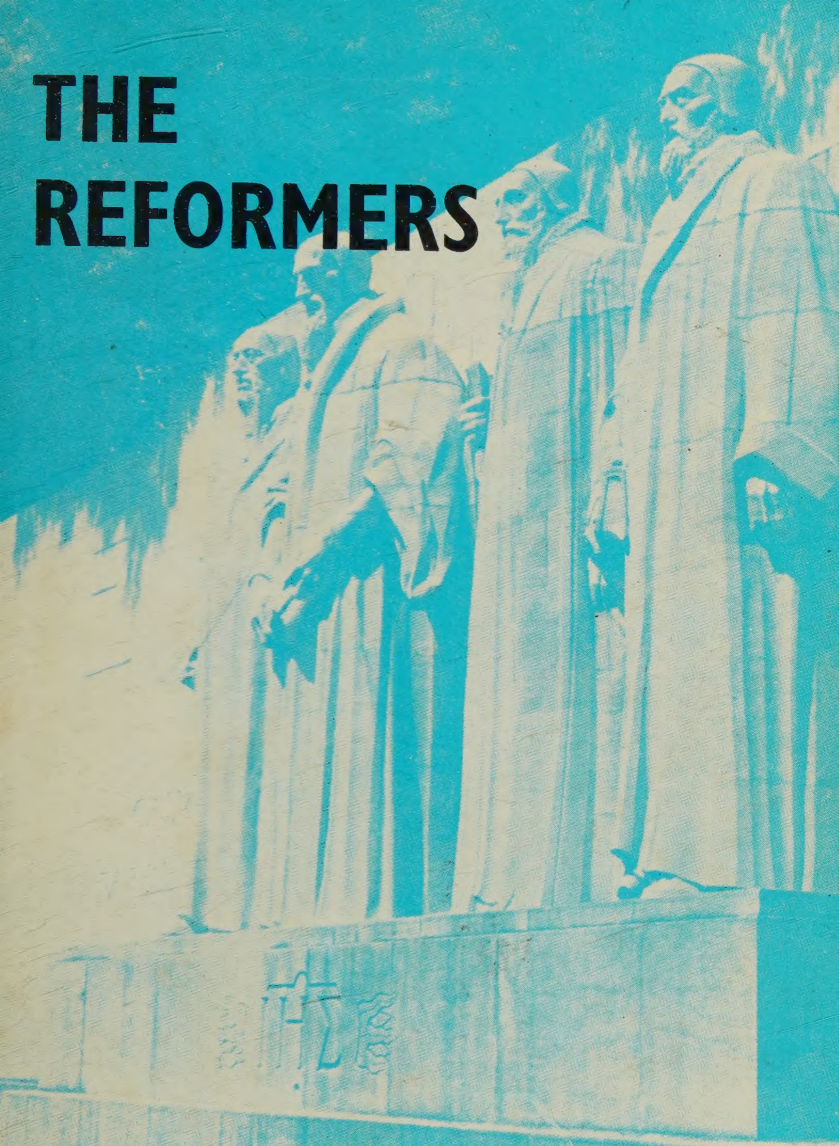
THE REFORMERS



J. R. BROOME

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Cover picture: The central group of the Reformation Monument, Geneva, Switzerland, showing left to right, Farel, Calvin, Beza, and Knox.

THE REFORMERS

by

JOHN BROOME, B.A.

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THE REFORMERS

Preface

The following chapters were originally published as a series of articles in the "Friendly Companion" (The Young People's Magazine of the Gospel Standard Baptists) for 1967, 1968 and 1969. In order to give them a wider circulation, it was felt that they could usefully be reprinted, firstly as pamphlets and secondly in the form of a booklet.

The subjects of the individual articles were men of God, used in their generation to expose error and propagate the Gospel. They were the vanguard of the Reformation, the results of which have been felt in the world ever since — the Reformation of the Christian Church, begun in Wycliffe's day (1324-84) in the 14th Century, carried on in Europe by Huss (1370-1415) in the 15th Century, brought to a head by Luther (1483-1546) and Zwingli (1484-1531) in the 16th Century, and developed by Calvin (1509-64) and Knox (1505-72) in Switzerland and Scotland in the same Century.

Sources of information for these articles have included, Wylie's "History of Protestantism," Lechler's "John Wycliffe and His English Precursors," McCrie's "Life of Knox," and "the Life of Calvin" by Jean Cadier. The object has been to present the facts in a simple form, the outline being an historical framework into which has been set the gracious experience of these men as their eyes were enlightened to understand the truth, and faith was given to stand firm against error.

Our wish is that these accounts may be used of the Lord to shew us the need to make a firm stand against the errors that are prevalent today—in many ways the identical errors with which these men contended—and to revive in our hearts a desire to spread the Truth as they did in their day. We can be certain of two things—nothing will be achieved without difficulty, nor will all be accomplished in one day.

J.R.B.
Nov., 1969

JOHN WYCLIFFE

WYCLIFFE was born in Yorkshire about 1324 and was destined for the Church from an early age. Probably initially educated in a Cathedral or Monastic school, at about the age of sixteen he went to Oxford. He was first a Scholar and then a Fellow. Great scholars were in the University at the time, but the one who influenced Wycliffe most was probably Thomas Bradwardine. He had embraced the doctrines of free grace and was a Professor of the University. Most of his contemporaries treated Christianity from an academic point of view—not as Bradwardine—he accepted the truth of the Word of God and taught his students to do the same. He warned his students against free-will and a religion which emphasised externals and ignored the teaching concerning worshipping God "in spirit and in truth." "The fame of Bradwardine's lectures filled Europe," says J. A. Wylie in his 'History of Protestantism'. It was from this man that Wycliffe first received the truth in its purity.

To Wycliffe this was like a light in a dark place, because what was termed theology, in his day, consisted of discussions on the writings of such men as Peter Abelard or Thomas Aquinas, rather than a study of the Scriptures, which was considered an inferior occupation and of less academic importance than a study of free-will theologians of the church, such as Aquinas. In the Churches up and down the country, worship was polluted by gross superstitions. In 1348, the Plague swept the country and thousands died—the fields ceased to be cultivated and in London alone it was believed that about 100,000 died. Wycliffe was about twenty-five at the time, and there is no doubt that the awful visitation in the nation and in Europe brought to him some solemn thoughts and led him to search the Scriptures to which Bradwardine had introduced him. Though little is accurately known of how the Lord called him to a saving knowledge of the truth, it

would seem from his defence of it that he was brought to it clearly and solemnly and made to feel his need of a Saviour who could heal him, and that after the teaching of Bradwardine, the Plague might have been the turning point in his life.

In 1361 he became Master of Balliol College. As a Fellow he had lectured on the Bible and became versed in the Scriptures, "and thus was the Professor unwittingly prepared for the great work of Reforming the Church" (Wylie). But it was not to be by expounding the Scriptures only, that Wycliffe was to gain renown. He was to act as a representative for Britain in a controversy with the Pope. This centred around the rights of the King of England and the Pope. A century before Wycliffe's birth King John had been forced by the Pope to recognise him as his feudal overlord and pay a tax each year in recognition of the English King's servility to the Pope. The Pope claimed (and still does) that he was "The King of the Kings of the earth." John, a corrupt and weak monarch, bowed to the Pope. This act had been resented by the English barons, who far from recognising the Pope as their feudal overlord, now pressed King John for a recognition of their liberties which they obtained in the 'Magna Carta' of 1215. This was deeply resented by the Pope, who looked upon the barons as his rebel subjects. But the attitude of the barons saved England from total subservience to the Pope. The tax was regularly paid for some years, until England became stronger, and then about 1330 it was quietly dropped and continued so until 1365, when a new Pope demanded its payment, plus arrears. The English King, Edward III, was not willing to pay, besides which, many of the English bishops were Italians who were being kept on Englishmen's tithes. To halt this foreign infiltration two Acts were passed in the British Parliament to limit the interference from Rome.

Parliament met in 1366 to discuss the demand of the Pope and Wycliffe was present (whether as a Member or an observer is not clear) and kept a record of the speeches. Not a voice was raised to support the Pope. All thought that King John had acted beyond his powers in giving the nation

to the Pope by recognising him as his superior. The barons in Parliament felt that in the first place they were British subjects, and only secondly members of the Roman Catholic Church. None was willing to put Church before country as the Pope wished. The question was settled—a King and not a Pope would rule in England. The Parliament said that King John had acted against his Coronation oath in giving his allegiance to the Pope without Parliament's consent and so his action was null and void. This was a great step forward in "the Reformation," the repudiation by the English Parliament of the Pope's temporal claim to be "the King of the Kings of the earth." It was only a step from denying the temporal supremacy of the Pope to questioning his spiritual supremacy. The demand for a tax of a thousand marks put the theory of Papal Supremacy into practice and while Englishmen might condone it in theory, they refused to accept it in practice. Now men were ready to criticise a system whose prestige had up till then blinded them to its falsity.

It appears clear that Wycliffe had expressed many "Reformation type" views in his lectures at Oxford and that such views had taken root and spread in the nation. His position in the controversy was a prominent one. This is clear from the fact that, when an English monk took up the cause of the Pope in writing and justified his temporal claims over this land, he challenged Wycliffe by name to disprove his reasoning. In defending the issue, Wycliffe styled himself "the King's peculiar clerk," which suggests that either he was a royal chaplain, or at least that his learning and defence of the matter had brought him to the notice of the King. Even in such a position of royal favour he was in some considerable danger, because the more completely he exposed the hollowness of the Roman Catholic Church, the more likely it was that they would retaliate, when it might take more than a King to defend his life. Wycliffe was moderate in his reply and kept to the matter under discussion — who was to have the final control in England, the King or Pope? He saw the issue as a concern of

the King and nation and not merely his personal view, and showed that the issue was not between a monk and an Oxford Doctor, but between the Pope and the King of England. All Europe watched to see whether the victor of Crecy would bow to the Pope. And the victory was England's and very much of the credit for that must go to Wycliffe. Soon after this he took his doctorate of theology and was raised to the chair of theology at Oxford where his influence was extended.

Now from questioning the abuse of the power of the Papacy, he came to question the Papacy itself and examine it in the light of the Scriptures. We can have no conception of what this meant for him, as we live in an age when that hollow system has been exposed and any who accept it do so not from ignorance, but in the light of its recognised materialistic attitude to religion. To Wycliffe the system was the only accepted form of Christianity in his day and there was no other denomination to which he could turn; and it took another generation or two to come to the concept of completely breaking with the old order of the Roman Catholic Church and founding a new Protestant Church.

As Wycliffe read his Bible, he saw clearly that the Gospel and the Papacy had little to do with one another and that to follow one meant to renounce the other. His next great conflict after his defence of the royal power was with the Friars. Strange he should attack men who were apparently leading a holy life of poverty and self-neglect, which might in some ways counteract the obvious worldliness and wealth of the Pope, Cardinals and Bishops, and so restore the good name of the Church. Yet such self-imposed poverty had not always lasted and the monastic orders created for this very thing had more often become just as worldly and wealthy as the rest of the Roman Catholic Church. Long before Wycliffe's day there were abbotts who excelled princes in their power and wealth. Good food, beautiful furniture, great retinues of retainers, fine horses, hunting, etc., marked the monastic houses out for notoriety, instead of their vows of poverty and charity. The Papacy itself recognised the vast corruption of the early monastic orders and tried to remedy it by founding new ones bound to abstinence and poverty.

The Franciscans were founded about 1215 and the Dominicans about 1218. Francis of Assissi, the founder of the first movement, considered that all holiness and virtue consisted in poverty and acted out his theory to the last letter. Before he died, he had founded 2,500 convents on his ideas of poverty, and from the order there have come at least five Popes. Dominic, the founder of the second order, aimed to stamp out heresy against the Roman Catholic Church. He saw how much the worldliness of the monks and the wealth of the Church drove men into heresy and away from the Church. So he called for a new order of monks who would preach to heretics and show by their poverty that the Church was not entirely corrupt. The order was divided into two groups—one to preach the Roman Catholic doctrine, the other to kill obstinate heretics. Soon this small group rapidly spread like the Franciscans and both orders did immense work for the Roman Catholic Church in the countries of Europe in the century before Wycliffe was born in 1324.

These two orders were different from other monks in that they were not confined to their monasteries, but treated them rather like hotels. They travelled and revived the lost art of preaching, mixing freely in society, especially among the poor. They stood out from the other monks in that they literally were beggars and were known as "Mendicants". Their reputation for holiness was therefore great and their influence extended among all classes. They were the advance guard of the Papacy in Europe in Wycliffe's day. Then why did he attack them? Because their practice changed and they soon became as wealthy as the older orders such as the Benedictines and Augustinians. Still wearing their coarse robes, they sold images, relics, rosaries and accepted money. They did not use it to buy land as they were forbidden to do this, but they built splendid churches and monasteries and became indolent, corrupt and insolent, making bad use of the powers conferred on them by the Popes. When Wycliffe came to examine these Friars, they were almost wholly corrupted. He first opposed them in 1360, forty years after they had first come to England. Forty houses of Dominicans

were established in England in his day and were known as the Blackfriars.

One of these houses was at Oxford and it was there that they attacked the University itself, claiming independence from it. This started a battle between them and the University and led to a complaint by the Oxford Chancellor to the Pope in which he said, "By the privileges granted by the Popes to the Friars, great enormities do arise." Among the abuses he listed the trapping of students at the University to enter the mendicant orders from which they could never get out and went on to show how parents became afraid to send their sons to Oxford, and as a result, the student population had declined from 30,000 to about 6,000 with a resultant decay of every branch of learning in the country. He described the Friars as 'a pestiforous canker'. But his appeal was useless—these men were the orders created by the Popes—they were the Papal weapons to spread Roman Catholicism, and Oxford University and its decline meant little or nothing to the Popes.

The Chancellor of Oxford, who later became Archbishop of Armagh, died in 1360 and in that very year the Lord raised up Wycliffe to continue the attack on the Friars, which he did more or less to the end of his life. He saw deeper than the late Oxford Chancellor. He did not merely attack abuses but saw that the very foundation of the two orders was unscriptural—and demanded the abolition of both. Their power was great. It stemmed directly from the Pope himself and especially in their so-called ability to forgive sins, they possessed a potent weapon. Their teaching was dangerous—real religion, they said, was to obey the Pope, pray to St. Francis and give alms to the Friars. This opened the gates of heaven, they taught. Religion was for them a trade. Exactly the same abuse roused Luther several generations later to promulgate his Theses—the Friar's name then was Tetzel. The controversy Wycliffe aroused was excellent, as it caused men to search out the foundations of the Gospel and see from Scripture whether what he said was true. The question that was raised was, 'Who can forgive sins?' Wycliffe was able to point out the Bible answer, 'God only,' and so

the battle was between truth and error. In his Oxford lectures, Wycliffe taught that salvation was through the blood of the Lord Jesus Christ, "neither is there salvation in any other, for there is none other name under heaven, given among men, whereby we must be saved." Acts 4, 12. He published a work called "Objections to Friars" in which he charged them with at least fifty heresies. This marks the beginning of his claim to the title of "Reformer".

In this tract he preached the Gospel rather than attacked the Friars. He said, "There cometh no pardon but of God." He spoke of 'pretended confessions' and said, "There is no greater heresy than for a man to believe that he is absolved from his sins if he give money. But all the masses of the Church, pilgrimages and giving alms will not and cannot bring a man's soul to heaven, unless he truly repent and keep God's commandments and set fully his trust in Jesus Christ." Wycliffe said, "I confess that the indulgences of the Pope, if they are what they are said to be, are a manifest blasphemy . . . The Friars give a colour to this blasphemy by saying that Christ is omnipotent and that the Pope is his plenary vicar and so possesses in everything the same power as Christ in his humanity. Against this rude blasphemy I have elsewhere inveighed." It was and still is, the king-pin of the Papacy, that the Pope has the right to grant pardon and dispense its operations to his priests, friars, bishops, etc. Also he claims the right to exclude men from heaven by excommunicating them from his Church. Such priestly power Wycliffe saw through, and here surely is the seed of the Reformation. It was the same supposed power that Luther later was to attack. Wycliffe in attacking the Friars proclaimed the Gospel. In proclaiming the Gospel he exposed the hollow foundations of the Roman Catholic Church.

His work in translating the Scriptures and his attitude towards Transubstantiation furthered the same end. These subjects bring us toward the end of his life in the years 1380-1384. He had previously called in question the allegiance of his country to the Papacy and attacked the weapons of the Papacy in spreading its false teaching through the agency of the Friars. But more important than this work was his share

in spreading the truth to his fellow countrymen by translating the Scriptures into the mother tongue. We speak of the 'Written Word', but Wycliffe's work truly was with the written word, for there were no printing presses in his day and every copy of the translated Scriptures had to be laboriously copied by hand. Wycliffe's work was to perform the original task of translating out of the Latin into English. There is doubt cast today on what proportion of the work he actually did with his own pen. It has generally been accepted that he translated the New Testament himself and that another scholar, Nicholas of Hereford, did the translating of the Old Testament. But whatever doubt is cast upon the actual translation, it is clear that the master mind behind it, in the essentially 'Reformation concept' of giving the Scriptures to the common people, was Wycliffe's.

The year of its completion was about 1382. This was the year that Nicholas of Hereford was excommunicated by the Roman Catholic Church for beliefs similar to Wycliffe's, and thrown into prison in Rome, when he went there to appeal against his excommunication. An interesting manuscript exists, preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, with erasures and alterations, containing a note that it was the work of Nicholas of Hereford. It consists of the Old Testament in its entirety, together with a part of the Apocrypha. The unfinished nature of this manuscript fits in with the fact that Nicholas of Hereford was suddenly called away from his work to defend himself against the charge of heresy. For Wycliffe the work was being done in the evening of his life. He had only two years to live when it was completed, in which he was excluded from teaching at Oxford and which he spent in his quiet rectory at Lutterworth. As the work was later revised by his curate, John Purvey, the revision being completed in about 1388, it seems likely that this was what Wycliffe spent much of the last two years of his life doing, perfecting what had already been begun before he left Oxford.

It may be asked why Wycliffe was not persecuted to death. This was due entirely to the weakness of the Papacy after 1378 when it became divided over the election of two Popes.

This had occurred because in the election of the Pope in 1378 the Roman populace had gathered in a riotous action to force the Cardinals to elect an Italian, and later when they had left Rome, some of them gathered in the southern part of Italy and elected a Frenchman. This circumstance was used of the Lord to spare Wycliffe from almost certain martyrdom in the last six years of his life, while he was working on the translation of the Scriptures. In this period he came to very clear views of their value. In a work called, "On the Truth and Meaning of Scripture," he maintains their supreme authority and insists on the right of private judgement while stating that they are not open to the individual interpretation of everyone, and equally are not to be interpreted by the Roman Catholic Church alone. Two copies of this work still exist—one at Oxford in the Bodleian Library, the other in Trinity College Library, Dublin. It contains the essence of a Reformation view of Scripture as of 'supreme authority' and not to be counterbalanced by any traditions of the Church as having equal authority. Wylie says of Wycliffe's translation, "What mattered it (now) when a dungeon or grave might close over him! He had kindled a light which could never be put out. He had placed in the hands of his countrymen that true Magna Carta. That which the Barons at Runnymede had wrested from King John would have been turned to but little account had not this mightier Charter come after."

The work of copying the translation was hard—but it was done and gradually men went out with Wycliffe's translation, (Lollard preachers) up and down the land, stopping on village greens and other public places to read the Scriptures for the first time to the illiterate people. The Roman Catholic Church was horrified when she learnt what Wycliffe had done. It was rather like a civil servant revealing state secrets to the man-in-the-street. They had hoped that his work of spreading the Gospel might have died with him. Now a new work was abroad, which they could not stop, though in 1408 an English Church Council banned the reading of Wycliffe's Version under threat of excommunication and also banned further attempts at translation into English.

With this gigantic effort accomplished, Wycliffe did not rest. He wished to see his countrymen even further freed from error. He turned to attack the doctrine of the Roman Church. He regarded this doctrine as the opposite of that given by Christ to His Church. He selected one dogma for attack as being the key to many errors. This was transubstantiation which claims that the bread and wine at the Lords Supper are turned, after the priest has blessed them, into the actual body and blood of the Lord Jesus and are offered and elevated for worship at the altar. Wycliffe realised that this was pure idolatry as well as being the source of the prodigious authority claimed by the Roman Church. He saw that the conflict was between the supposed sacrifice of a priest and the one and only sacrifice of the Lord Jesus at Calvary. He first publicly denounced the error in the Spring of 1381. He posted up "Twelve Propositions" in Oxford for discussion, challenging all who disagreed to come and debate the matter. The first stated, "The consecrated host which we see upon the altar, is neither Christ nor any part of Him, but an efficacious sign of Him." He maintained that the bread and wine were only figuratively the body and blood of Christ. This caused great confusion in Oxford. But no-one accepted his challenge. They were unanimous that this was heresy. A Council of University doctors and monks was summoned, which unanimously condemned Wycliffe's statements as heretical. He was suspended from lecturing in the University and ordered to remain silent on his opinions under threat of imprisonment. He appealed to Parliament for redress, but as Parliament was not in session, he eventually left Oxford for his parish at Lutterworth to await events.

During this period the Peasants' Revolt broke out, led by Wat Tyler, which resulted in the Archbishop of Canterbury being beheaded by the rebels at the Tower of London. This had the effect of delaying the Roman Catholic Church from pursuing its persecution of Wycliffe until a new Archbishop was fully installed. This was accomplished at last, in May, 1382. The new Archbishop convened a Synod to try the Rector of Lutterworth, which met at a Blackfriars Monastery,

in London. It was strange that hardly had the Council commenced work when London was shaken by an earthquake, which the Archbishop interpreted as an omen signifying the cleansing of the land from heresy, but which must have pointed for many of Wycliffe's followers to the indignation of God against the Council about to try Wycliffe. The Council met for three days and condemned Wycliffe's beliefs as heretical and erroneous and sent commands to various Bishops to make certain that "these pestiferous doctrines" were not taught in their Dioceses. A letter also went to Oxford University, but the views of Wycliffe were widespread there and it needed a further appeal to Richard II before the University could be brought to heel. He gave authority to imprison anyone who maintained Wycliffe's beliefs. As the storm increased many of Wycliffe's supporters left him. John of Gaunt, a nobleman who had been very willing to support him in his attack on the temporal claims of the Pope, withdrew when the term heresy was used by the Roman Catholic Church. When Wycliffe's appeal came before Parliament in November, 1382, it repealed the persecuting edict of the Church against him. The Archbishop then convened Convocation to try him, and he appeared before this august Assembly of the Church to justify his beliefs, refusing to retract anything. His final words in his own defence have a beauty about them for their fearless simplicity. "You are the heretics," he said, "who affirm that the Sacrament is an accident without a subject. Why do you propagate such errors? Why? Because like the priests of Baal you want to sell your masses. With whom, think you, you are contending? With an old man on the brink of the grave? No! with Truth —Truth which is stronger than you and will overcome you." With these words he turned to leave the Assembly. His enemies had no power to stop him. "Like his Divine Master at Nazareth," says D'Aubigné, "he passed through the midst of them."

He went quietly back to Lutterworth, now a weary and sick man. During the remaining days of his life he was summoned to appear at Rome before the Pope to answer for his

heresy, but he was too ill to travel. On the last Sunday of the year 1384 as he administered the Lord's Supper in his Church at Lutterworth, he was taken ill with a stroke, carried to the rectory and died there on 31st December. His useful life was over, but a light was lighted in England which has never gone out, though we live in a day when subtle so-called ecumenical attempts are being made to smother it under the cloak of toleration and reunion with the Papacy. Buried at Lutterworth, Wycliffe's body was disturbed in 1428 by order of the Pope, burnt, and his ashes thrown into the River Swift which flows through the town. But that could not silence the Truth and it has been well said that those ashes carried by the Swift to the Avon, and by the Avon to the Severn, and by the Severn to the Ocean, were a symbol of the Truth of God for which he had fearlessly contended in his life, and which has ever since gone out to the four corners of the world. Wycliffe was the Father of the Reformation—its Morning Star—the Scriptures were the sole authority for his beliefs, the Lord Jesus his one and only Master. We honour his memory as we remember him once again. Like the apostles, he has no resting place we can visit, yet his memory is indelibly written in the earth and as the Scriptures say, "The memory of the just is blessed."

JOHN HUSS

JOHN HUSS was born about 1370 in Bohemia (present-day Czechoslovakia). He died at the stake for his faith, condemned by the Roman Catholic Church and burnt at Constance in Switzerland in 1415. He learnt the truth partly through Wycliffe's writings. "The Book of the Persecutions of the Bohemian Church" by Comenius says, "In the year 1400 A.D. Jerome of Prague returned from England bringing with him the writings of Wycliffe." A Chronicler of the 15th century states that the writings of Wycliffe opened the eyes of Huss to the truth. This Chronicler was Nicholaus von Pelhrimow. The struggle between Huss and the Roman Catholic Church took place mostly in Prague and centred particularly around the Bethlehem Chapel and the University.

Huss was a boy of fourteen when Wycliffe died at Lutterworth. He was a man of thirty when the writings of the great Reformer came into his hands. In his own country there were those who looked with disfavour on the Roman Catholic Church before his time, contemporaries of Wycliffe. The Lord was working in Bohemia as He had worked in England. Often we may wonder where the Lord's people were in these days before the Lutheran Reformation. In seeking for them it is wise to see whom the Roman Catholic Church persecuted. This will often point us to the seekers after truth. Bohemia was one of the countries to which a persecuted sect from the Alps of Northern Italy and Southern France, the Waldensians, had gone for refuge. This group sprang up at Lyons about 1170 affirming that poverty was the true christian way of life and that the Scriptures were the infallible guide in religion, which led on to the claim that every converted man was competent to preach and expound the Bible, and to the desire to translate it from Latin to the native language. In the 13th century this group came under the scourge of the Inquisition founded in 1233 and its members fled to Germany, Bohemia and Hungary and carried

the truth with them. So it is not surprising to find vestiges of the truth in Bohemia in the early 14th century before Huss was born. John Milic, archdeacon of the Cathedral Church of Prague, filled the place with his preaching and attacked the abuses of the Church. He went to Rome and was horrified at what he saw there. He wrote over one of the cardinal's doorways, "Anti-Christ is come", and for that was imprisoned for some time on his return to Prague. Released later, he died in 1374 at the age of eighty. Another great preacher in Prague was Conrad Stickna, who preached in the open air outside the Cathedral to large crowds. A third was Matthew of Janow who travelled round Bohemia preaching against the abuses of the Church. This eventually resulted in persecution, imprisonment and the stake which was introduced in 1376 for his followers. Thus persecution was in progress when Huss was born. Janow taught that salvation was only to be found by faith in the crucified Saviour. On his death bed in 1394 he said, "The rage of the enemies of truth now prevails against us, but it will not be for ever; there shall arise one from among the common people without sword or authority, and against him they shall not be able to prevail."

In the latter half of the 14th century Bohemia was preparing for a great struggle for her religious and political liberties. This was to follow the death of Huss in what were known as the Hussite Wars. Thus the century from 1350 to 1450 was momentous in the history of Bohemia. At the beginning of this period Charles I, King of Bohemia, (later Charles IV, Emperor of Germany) protected Janow from the persecution of the Roman Catholic Church and was influenced by him to try and reform some of the more obvious abuses of the Church in Bohemia, especially its enormous wealth. He established peace and order in the country, and extended the municipal liberties of towns. He also founded the University of Prague in 1348 and brought many eminent scholars there. So when Huss was born at Hussinetz (he took his name from his birthplace), a market place on the edge of the Bohemian Forest, much had already happened in Bohemia connected with the work he was to undertake. His

father died when he was young and his mother, after educating him at the local school, took him to Prague to the University. He had a successful career there. He obtained his B.A. in 1393, his Bachelor of Theology in 1394 and his M.A. in 1396. In 1398 he commenced lecturing in the University. Soon he was ordained as a priest and went to the court of King Wenceslas who had succeeded his father, Charles IV, in 1378 as King of Bohemia. His Queen, Sofia of Bavaria, selected Huss as her confessor.

At this time Huss was a firm supporter of the Roman Catholic Church. His true career as a Reformer dates from 1402 when he was appointed preacher at the Chapel of Bethlehem in Prague. The emphasis in this Church was on preaching and the sermons of Huss were epoch making. He acted as the conscience of the nation and it seems that during the preparation of these sermons his own conscience was awakened to the truth. A great outcry arose against him from all groups, but the Queen and, strangely, the Archbishop of Prague, who recognised the truth of his assertions, protected him. Huss founded all he said on the Scriptures and so frequently appealed to them, that he soon restored them to their rightful place in the eyes of the people. He preached to the common people in their own tongue and translated the New Testament into the Czech language. Around him there grew a community who loved his teaching, and he gradually grew in the knowledge of the truth himself. He placed the Bible above the authority of the Pope or any Council of the Church and thus founded a movement of which he little realised the consequences. He did not yet differ from the Roman Catholic Church on any point except the one mentioned above, namely the supremacy of Scripture, but this one difference was enough to lead him eventually from error to truth.

Another of the factors which favoured Huss was the marriage of Richard II of England with Anne, sister of the King of Bohemia, in 1382. When she died in 1394 the ladies of her court in returning to Bohemia had brought back the writings of Wycliffe, whose disciple Anne of Bohemia had been. The University of Prague was a centre of learning and

good ground for the influence of the great English Reformer, long since dead. Huss copied Wycliffe's work and translated some into Czech. He gradually came to see the truth, though he never saw it as clearly as Wycliffe had seen it. Mostly he understood the grosser abuses of the Church as in the case of the relic of Wilsnack, said to be the blood of Christ and able to perform cures. Huss was ordered to take part as a member of a commission appointed by the Archbishop of Prague to examine the authenticity of the cures. He found them all fraudulent. In 1409 he was appointed Rector of the University of Prague. So from two directions, from the Royal Court and from Jerome, Huss received Wycliffe's writings, and as Rector of the University of Prague was able to spread these teachings among the students and the lecturers. Soon it became known at Rome that a man so influenced by the writings of Wycliffe was Rector of Prague University and was spreading these "erroneous" views among his students, many of whom came not only from Bohemia, but also from Germany. The Pope issued a Bull for this teaching to be stopped and the "erroneous" books to be burnt. Many of the nobility were followers of the "reformed school of thought". This was shown by the many beautiful bindings of the volumes of Wycliffe which were publicly burnt by the Church in Prague. But this bonfire merely roused Huss. He now not only attacked the abuses of the Church but also the use of indulgences. The Pope demanded that Huss appear in person to answer for his "errors". But the King, Queen, University and nobility supported him and suggested that a legal counsel appear for Huss before the Pope. To go in person was courting arrest and death.

The Pope refused to listen to this idea and put the city of Prague under an "Interdict," by which all churches were closed and the priests ceased to marry and bury. This caused an awful panic as the dead lay unburied, and so to avoid such chaos as the Pope's "Interdict" brought, Huss left Prague and went to his native town of Hussinetz. But he did not stay there — he travelled round the surrounding villages and towns preaching the truth to the crowds that

came to hear him. Gradually things quietened down in Prague and Huss went back to preach at the Bethlehem Chapel, now the centre of the new movement. In the University a powerful group of doctors and priests opposed him. Many would have liked to silence him and close the Bethlehem Chapel. But Huss had also a powerful group of supporters, including the Queen and many of the nobles, and the great body of the citizens of Prague sided with him. He also had a close friend in Jerome. Both were to die at the stake eventually and give their lives in martyrdom for their faith. Jerome was a great debater and a much more impulsive man than Huss who was of a quieter disposition. But as Wylie says, "The union of these two men gave a sensible impulse to the cause".

They were aided in their work by the divisions in the Papacy, there being three Popes at this time, John XXIII in Italy, Gregory XII in France, and Benedict XIII in Spain. To the Czech Reformers the infallibility of the Papacy presented a rather ludicrous spectacle, and what was more awful, military conflict as each sought to establish his claim to be the actual Pope. Pardons, dispensations, etc., were all freely sold to provide money for the wars. To Huss the situation was instructive as he read his Bible, and compared it with what was happening. He wrote his first work, entitled, "On the Church." In this he laid it down that the Church was not the visible Church, but the assembly of the elect. His next work was "The Six Errors." He listed transubstantiation; the confession, "I believe in the Pope and the saints," instead of believing in God only; the priestly pretension of forgiving sins and remitting the punishment for sin; the implicit obedience demanded by the Church dignitaries; the lack of distinction between a valid excommunication and a non-valid one; and the practice of buying and selling livings in the Church, called simony. This list of errors was put on the doors of the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague, besides which it was circulated far and wide in tract form.

In the wars raging between the various Papal armies, Huss came out with a strong condemnation of the Church for

using the sword and denied the Papal claim to be the guardian of the two "swords", the temporal and the spiritual. He also attacked the use of indulgences by the various Popes who were each promising immediate entrance to heaven to men who took up arms in their cause. He taught that it was a duty to resist the Pope if he taught anything contrary to God's divine law. Huss also pointed out that many of the Church ceremonies were foolish — abstinence, venerating relics, bowing to images, worshipping the dead were all things he condemned. He attacked Friars as much as Wycliffe had done and wrote a work entitled, "The Abomination of Monks". The Archbishop of Prague became restless and re-imposed the Papal Interdict in Prague and threatened to continue it so long as Huss remained in the city. Huss again, for the sake of peace, returned to his native town of Hussinetz. While in exile from Prague, he wrote several letters to his friends there, and in one of these he uttered language which he was to re-iterate at the stake and which had a prophetic significance. He said, "If the goose (his name in Bohemian meant 'a goose') which is but a timid bird and cannot fly very high has been able to burst its bonds, there will come afterwards an eagle, which will soar high into the air and draw to it all the other birds . . . It is in the nature of truth that the more we obscure it the brighter it will become."

Here at Hussinetz he rested, before the great storm of persecution broke over him. He did not ever again preach in the Bethlehem Chapel. His work was now to leave a lasting memorial, not merely in his own country but in the whole of Europe and the world. The confusion in the Roman Catholic Church resulted in 1413 in Sigismund, the new Emperor (formerly King of Bohemia), calling for a General Council of the Roman Catholic Church (like the one recently held at Rome) to settle the issue of the divided Papacy. John XXIII agreed to hold such a Council at Constance in Switzerland, though he lived in fear of being tried by it, since it was generally said that he had been an accomplice in the murder of his predecessor, Alexander V. The Council assembled on 1st November, 1414 and delegates came from every country

of Europe. Numerous cardinals, archbishops, etc., were there. Also many rulers and princes. Representatives came from the two other Popes. John XXIII arrived himself amid regal splendour on 28th October and was met by the burgomaster and civic representatives of Constance. And while he was coming to Constance, from the other side of the city, Huss was making his way there. He had been summoned to appear before the Council by the Emperor Sigismund. Before leaving Bohemia he had obtained a safe-conduct from Sigismund. He knew that in going to Constance he could expect little mercy and that his life was in danger. Judged as a heretic, he would be burned. But the common people did not regard him as a heretic and his journey to Constance, across Europe, was marked by many kindly gestures and much concern for his safety. At Nuremburg, and other towns through which he had to pass, the magistrates formed a guard of honour for him and escorted him through the streets and crowds of people came to catch a glimpse of the man who had stirred the Roman Catholic Church.

He arrived at Constance on 3rd November and stayed at the home of a poor widow. But the Council had other business before it tried Huss. First of all, on 20th March, 1415, Pope John XXIII took flight and fled from Constance. Then in his absence the Council tried him on an indictment of seventy charges and called thirty-seven witnesses. One of the charges was for complicity in the murder of his predecessor. Eventually on 29th May he was deposed.

It is said that few more wicked men ever wore the tiara. It might be noted that the Pope who recently died and who tried to conciliate the Protestant Churches in the recent Council and open a new era in the 20th century ecumenical movement, took the title John XXIII—a strange situation that he should revive the memory of such an awful predecessor, whose name would revive memories of faithful Huss and the Council of Constance which condemned him to death. One wonders whether it was not done intentionally to point to the further extermination of the Protestant 'heresy' in the 20th century by more subtle methods than the fire which so miserably failed at Constance.

The Council of Constance, after it had dealt with one Pope then proceeded to deal with the other two—Gregory XII resigned and Benedict XIII was deposed and the cardinals then elected a new Pope who took the title of Martin V. It seemed extraordinary that the very Council which condemned Huss for heresy, should expose such corruption in the Papacy and so obviously vindicate Huss's charge that the Church was corrupt. This charge has again recently been levied at the Roman Catholic Church by Charles Davis and Herbert McCabe, two leading English Catholic Theologians, one of whom has recently left the Roman Catholic Church and the other been forced to resign his editorship of a Roman Catholic periodical. To Huss it was a cause of satisfaction, as a letter to a friend at the time showed, that his condemnation of the abuses of the Church and his assertion that it was never intended by God that the preservation of His grace in the world should rest in the hands of one man, Christ's so-called representative on earth, should be so vindicated by the judgement of the Council, a judgement which reflected on the Church itself and its teaching.

Now Huss faced the Council and the newly elected Pope with the guarantee of safe-conduct of the Emperor Sigismund, "to sojourn, stop, and return freely and securely," to Bohemia. But Huss trusted one more powerful than the kings of the earth, who keeps His promises, which Sigismund was to fail to do. He wrote, "I confide altogether in the all-powerful God, in my Saviour; He will accord me His Holy Spirit to fortify me in the truth so that I may face with courage, temptations, prison and if necessary a cruel death." So Huss seems to have realised himself that the Emperor might not keep his word. On the twenty-sixth day after his arrival in Constance, he was arrested in violation of the Imperial safe-conduct. In prison he developed a violent fever and nearly died. In Bohemia, there was great anger at the treachery of Sigismund, and a petition was sent demanding the release of Huss. But Sigismund was told by the Pope and Council that he had had no right to grant such a safe-conduct and the supreme authority of a Church Council must override his promise. And so Sigismund gave in and

[illegible] Huss in prison. The Roman Catholic Church has promulgated a decree, which was confirmed by the Council of Trent, that no faith should be kept with heretics to the prejudice of the Church." Huss's trial began on 7th June, 1415. His books were produced and he was asked to acknowledge them as his writings. When the accusations were read, Huss had various false things to which he objected, but he was howled down by the members of the Council, who refused to give him a fair hearing. On the next day, 7th June the Council met again. On that day there was all but a total eclipse of the sun, which caused great consternation among the members of the Council, who did not assemble until it was over. The Emperor Sigismund, who had broken his promises of safe-conduct to Huss, was present on this occasion. Huss was to obtain, under cross-examination, he appeared to accept some forms of transubstantiation, while rejecting the grosser forms of the dogma. He admitted the Divine institution and office of the Pope, but made their efficacy dependent on their spiritual character. In these ways he still owned a Roman Catholic. But he was condemned as a heretic by the Council, and on the following grounds: that he held that supreme rule of faith and practice is in the Bible; (2) that in the Book on which our Lord said He would build His Church, that the "assembly of the predestinate was the Holy Church"; that the Church needed no visible head on earth and it had none such in the days of the apostles. In these respects the Reformer was a Protestant, though he could not see the full implications of such beliefs, nor do we hear him mention such words as "justification by faith".

In turning to the Scriptures as his final authority, Huss rejected the authority of the Church, who at once realised this. Attempts were made to get him to recant, but as he wrote to a friend: "I write this letter in prison and with my fettered hand, expecting my sentence of death tomorrow. . . . Write with the assistance of Jesus Christ, we shall meet again in the delicious peace of the future life; you will learn how merciful God has shown Himself towards me, how admirably He has supported me in the midst of my

temptations and trials". On 6th July, 1415 he was brought before the Council and the sentence of condemnation was passed. He was attired in the vestments of a Roman Catholic priest which were removed one by one as a symbol of degradation from the priesthood. Then he was handed over to the magistrates of the city of Constance for burning and led in procession to the stake. A chain was put round his neck at which he commented, "Is it thus you silence the goose? A hundred years hence there will arise a swan whose singing you shall not be able to silence" (a prophetic reference to Luther). So he died in the flames and his ashes were thrown into the Rhine. The grace given to him to endure the fire was evident to all. Wylie comments, "When the martyr bowed his head at the stake, it was the 'infallible' Church that was vanquished."

MARTIN LUTHER

LUTHER was born in 1483 in the Thuringian Forest area of Germany at Eisleben. His father was a miner, though not an uneducated man. He sent his son to school at Magdeburg and Eisenach. At Eisenach Luther found a good home with Ursula Cotta, wife of one of the burghers of the town. This was a great contrast to the condition of many boys at school, who regularly in Germany went about begging for their food, which in fact Luther had had to do himself at Magdeburg. In 1501 his father sent him to Erfurt University. (The area in which he lived and was educated is now in the Eastern Zone of Germany). He worked here for two years on Classics and Theology; the theology of men like Thomas Aquinas. One day he found a Bible on the shelves of the Library—a Latin Vulgate Bible. He had never seen one before. He read first how Samuel was called of God, and given to the Lord by his mother. Day after day he returned to read the Bible. It was the year 1503, a year marked in his life as that in which he obtained his B.A.

Too much study brought on a serious illness, but he recovered and was left with an impression that God had spared his life for a purpose. In 1505 he took his M.A. His intention at this stage in his career was to become a lawyer. In the summer of this year he went to visit his parents and on the return journey to Erfurt was caught in a severe thunderstorm, lightning striking the ground very near to him. Death seemed close and in the intensity of the moment he vowed that if spared he would devote his life to God. With his prospects in life—he was one of the most brilliant students of his University—it meant an immense sacrifice to go into a monastery, for that was what he considered service to God entailed. On 17th August, 1505 he kept his vow and entered the monastery of the Augustinian Hermits at Erfurt. Here he experienced many hardships; was called on to do the most

menial tasks and generally devote himself to the monastic life. Since the thunderstorm, he had been especially concerned about his soul's welfare for eternity, and felt the need of preparation in the removal of guilt between him and God. He hoped in the quiet cloisters he would find this peace of conscience and live near to heaven. He proved himself mistaken, for his burden increased there. During his many exercises of soul he met John Staupitz, Vicar-General of the Augustinian Order, who said to him, "It is not in vain that God exercises you in so many conflicts. You will see that He will employ you as His servant for great purposes. Let the study of the Scriptures be your favourite occupation." The Vicar-General could have hardly realised 'the great purposes' or he might not have uttered such words. His advice to read the Scriptures was certainly unusual, coming from a high dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church at that time.

Luther spent much of his time in the monastery reading the works of St. Augustine; he liked especially Augustine on 'the Psalms'. He found a chained Bible in the monastery which he read regularly. He began a study of the Bible in its Greek and Hebrew originals, which enabled him later to translate it into German. But forgiveness he felt unable to find until taken ill, and very seriously ill, one of the old monks repeated to him the words of the Apostle's Creed, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins." These words were blessed to his soul in such a manner that he was, there and then, enabled by the operation of the Holy Spirit to powerfully believe that his own sins had been forgiven by the Lord Jesus Christ on Calvary. Roman Catholicism was destroyed in his soul. Salvation was for him no longer a question of how holy he could make himself. The great doctrine always associated with him came before him—salvation was by faith alone in the Lord Jesus, and not of works. No cloisters to avoid a sinful world, no indulgences or any other means could atone for sin. Luther learnt that Christ loved him and had died for him.

After two years in the monastery, in May 1507 he was ordained a priest. He had not yet been led to see the errors of the Roman Catholic priesthood, but long before he died he

realised that he received no power for his life's work from that ordination. After one more year in the monastery, he was sent at the suggestion of John Staupitz to lecture in the University of Wittemberg, founded in 1502 by the Elector of Saxony. He was to lecture in scholastic philosophy. This subject was far from what he wanted and he was soon transferred to lecture in theology, which enabled him to start on his chosen subject, scriptural exposition. He began his lectures with the Epistle of Paul to the Romans. The Bible, so long a closed book in Germany, was once again in Luther's hands to find its rightful place in University teaching and be expounded faithfully by a man who loved it and held it in reverence. Would that such a situation might again come about in this country in our own Universities where modernism has so infiltrated Biblical studies that, in a different way, the Bible is almost as closed a book as it was in Luther's day, being relegated to a more than secondary place among the sources of wisdom.

Having settled in the University, Staupitz proposed to Luther that he should not confine his teaching to University students, but go outside the University and preach in public. In the public square of Wittemberg was an old wooden church, thirty feet long and twenty feet wide. In it was an old wooden pulpit. Here Luther started his public ministry and broke the silence of centuries in Germany with the Gospel. He preached from his heart and his utterances came with power, the power of the Holy Spirit speaking through him to the hearts of his countrymen. Such preaching had not been heard in Germany for years. Soon the Church was overcrowded and the Town Council of Wittemberg called him to be their preacher and use the Parish Church. Powerful preaching was at the root of the Reformation—it always has been so; the Lord has used His servants, raised and equipped, for His divine purposes, and Luther was no exception to this. He was a man raised and equipped of God to lighten the darkness of 'Medieval Christendom.'

But he had one more lesson to learn before he was fully equipped. Wylie remarks, "In his cell at Erfurt he had been shown the sinfulness of his own heart . . . At Rome he must

be shown the vileness of the Church which he still regarded as the Church of Christ." In 1510 he was sent to Rome by the Augustinian Order. Why he went hardly concerns us—it was a conflict between the German Augustinians and the Papacy. But what does concern us is the effect that the journey had on Luther. Travelling across the Alps he came to stay at a monastery in Northern Italy, a splendid wealthy place, beautifully furnished and with much rich food. Compared with the German monasteries this was luxurious and it struck Luther as very out of keeping with the concept he had of monastic life. He went forward to Rome and there he received a rude awakening. Far from being the Holy City he had imagined, the centre of the Christian Church, he found it to be the very centre of godlessness and scepticism, not only among the ordinary people but among the clergy themselves and even among the Church dignitaries. While in Rome he climbed the Holy Stairs, said to have been miraculously transported from Jerusalem by angels, and which, if climbed on one's knees, according to the Church, one received fifteen years indulgence from purgatory. While engaged in the act the Lord spoke to his heart the words, "The just shall live by his faith," and the words came with such power that he felt it was the voice of God to him. He started to his feet in amazement. He saw at once that the Church's indulgence was limited, whereas Christ's forgiveness procured at Calvary was for ever. From this day in the 'Holy City' he learnt the lesson of a lifetime. God had used his journey to Rome to teach him the great doctrine of Justification by Faith, and it was burnt into his very soul. He saw it as he had never seen it before and God was his teacher and not man. It was a doctrine which the Roman Church had lost for many centuries and had relied instead on salvation by works. Luther said afterwards that he would not have missed his journey to Rome 'for an hundred thousand florins.' He was not there for more than a few weeks, but in that time the seeds of the Reformation were sown in his heart. He was to preach against and expose the Roman Catholic Church out of a practical acquaintance in his own heart of its evils and abuses. His eyes had been

opened to the truth of the Gospel by the Holy Spirit in a way they might not otherwise have been had he never visited Rome.

And so he returned to Germany. There he was made a Doctor of Divinity at Wittemberg University in October 1512 and this further opened up the way for him to teach and expound the Scriptures; also he continued to preach in the City Church. Over the years that followed from 1512-1517, he was learning for himself and sowing the seed. In 1516 he was commissioned to visit a large number of monasteries in the Thuringian area of Germany and took the opportunity of spreading the truth as the Lord had taught him it. In 1517 the Pope, who wanted money to build and improve Rome and her Churches, decided to issue a special Papal indulgence. The distribution of this and collection of the resulting finances in Germany fell to the lot of Friar Tetzel. He set out to travel round Germany and in the year 1517 he came to Juterbock, four miles from Wittemberg. Such blatant teaching of salvation by works, even to the extent of the use of such language as, "At the very instant that the money rattles in the bottom of the chest, the soul (of your dead relative) escapes from purgatory and flies liberated to heaven," roused Luther. He solemnly warned his students and congregation that there was no salvation without repentance. God, he said, demands a satisfaction for sin, but not from the sinner and it certainly cannot be bought in the form of a Papal pardon or indulgence. Tetzel soon heard of Luther's condemnation of his work and lit a fire in the market-place of Juterbock saying that in such a fire the Pope burnt heretics.

Luther still could not believe that the Pope was party to such deception as Tetzel preached. He wrote to the Archbishop of Mainz asking him to stop Tetzel. He little knew that it was this Archbishop who had authorised Tetzel to carry on his sale of indulgences in Germany. In the University of Wittemberg Luther condemned the scandal. The issue was salvation through the preaching of the Gospel or salvation through indulgences; salvation by grace or salvation by works.

Tetzel went on with his sale and Luther considered how best to attack him. All-Saints Day was 1st November. At Wittemberg, the Elector of Saxony had recently built himself a Castle Church and collected numerous relics to put in it. These in gold and jewelled settings were displayed on All-Saints Day to crowds of spectators who came to earn an indulgence by a visit to the relics. On the previous day, 31st October, at noon, when the streets of Wittemberg were full of the crowds assembling for the following day, Luther went to the Castle Church and boldly nailed to its door a document containing ninety-five propositions (Theses) on indulgences. A few extracts will show the sort of thing that these famous "95 Theses" contained.

VI. The Pope cannot remit any condemnation but can only declare and confirm the remission that God Himself has given . . .

XXI. The sellers of indulgences are in error when they say that by the Papal indulgence a man is delivered from every punishment and is saved.

XXXVII. Every true Christian, dead or living, is a partaker of all the blessings of Christ or of the Church, by the gift of God and without any letter of indulgence.

LII. To hope to be saved by indulgences is a lying and an empty hope, although even the seller of indulgences, nay even the Pope himself, should pledge their souls to guarantee it.

LIII. They are the enemies of the Pope and Jesus Christ who, by reason of the preaching of indulgences, forbid the preaching of the Word of God.

LXII. The true and precious treasure of the Church is the Holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God.

It is clear from these propositions that Luther still recognised the Roman Catholic Church as the centre of Christianity, though corrupt. He really was quite ignorant of its machinations, even after his visit to Rome in 1510, and could not believe initially in 1517 that it needed more than thoroughly reforming. But a proposition like LXII shows that if he had not yet a clear view of the system in which he had

been nurtured, he was quite clear on the system to which the Lord was leading him, and the central feature of that system was its reverence for and acceptance of the authority of the Scriptures and their revelation of the Gospel. As Wylie points out, Luther had taken the mightiest of all the powers of the Church, the power of pardoning sin and so saving men's souls, and given it back to God. The intention behind his Theses was that they should form the basis for a debate in the University on All-Saints Day. But though he offered to defend them, no-one was prepared to oppose him. Instead a debate of a different kind ensued—in the minds of the men, the pilgrims to Wittemberg who had come from the surrounding parts of Germany, and who took away as well as their indulgence, printed copies of Luther's Theses and discussed them on their journey home. Such was the means used of spreading the seeds of the Reformation in its earliest beginnings—not a debate of one day in Wittemberg, but a continuing debate which is still in progress and will, God willing, last as long as the Christian Church on earth. The big question in 1517 was—is what Luther says true? If so then the infallible Church was no longer infallible and there must be some major discrepancy between it and the Scriptures.

In a fortnight Luther's Theses were distributed all over Germany. Then they were translated into Dutch and Spanish and circulated in those countries. In a month they were all round Europe. In four weeks Luther's name was a household word in Europe. In Universities and monasteries, in the market place and the palace, even in the Vatican itself where the Pope read them, they were the centre of discussion. Luther's lamp of truth was indeed set on a hill and no-one was more surprised than Luther at the effect of his attack. Tetzel had by now moved on to Frankfort-on-Oder, where he publicly burnt a copy of the Theses and produced some of his own in which he re-affirmed the authority of the Roman Catholic Church as opposed to the authority of the Bible. Other antagonists took up Tetzel's side, among whom was a famous scholar of Ingolstadt, Dr. Eck. He accused Luther of spreading the "Bohemian poison", a reference to Huss.

In April 1518, Luther went to a meeting of the Augustinian Order at Heidelberg and there defended his case. Many who had come from various monasteries in Germany were very impressed by his defence, especially his constant reference to Scripture, and they returned to their monasteries with matter for thought. Some of the monks were chaplains to the princely rulers of the small states into which Germany was divided at that time, and they took back ideas for discussion with their masters.

In August 1518 the Pope was roused to a sense of the danger by the Emperor of Germany, Maximilian, and ordered Luther to come to Rome. Later he changed his mind and decided that Cardinal Cajetan would judge the case of heresy in Germany and Luther was ordered to go to Augsburg and appear before the Cardinal there. A few days before he left, a new Professor arrived at Wittemberg University to take the Chair of Greek. This was Philip Melanchthon, who was to be a fellow Reformer and companion to Luther, just at a time when he was standing alone and under attack. Melanchthon had come from Heidelberg University, where he had taken his degree. Both men had come from lowly origins—Luther the son of a miner, Melanchthon the son of a master armourer. This was true of the other Reformers. Calvin was the grandson of a cooper of Picardy in France, Knox was the son of a Scottish burgess, Zwingli was born in a shepherd's cottage in the Swiss Alps. As in His day on earth, the Lord chose His disciples of the Reformation from such humble homes as His own at Nazareth. But, as with Paul, he made use of their ability in combating the false theology of the Roman Catholic Church.

So Luther set out for Augsburg rather like Huss to Constance, not certain whether he would return alive to Wittemberg or die at the stake, but with the same confidence in God that Paul had on his last journey back to Jerusalem, "ready not to be bound only, but also to die for the name of the Lord Jesus." Unlike Huss, initially Luther had no safe-conduct, and many seriously doubted the outcome of his examination before the Cardinal. He arrived at Augsburg after a journey of several hundred miles on foot, on 7th October. It was not

quite a year since he had posted his Theses on the door of the Castle Church at Wittemberg and now he was being judged for it by the Roman Catholic Church. Cardinal Cajetan wanted one thing only—submission—recantation. If Luther refused that, he intended to send him to Rome bound. In Augsburg Luther was encouraged to find that even to this place his doctrines had spread; and it was one of the most important cities in the German Empire. Before going into the presence of the Cardinal his friends helped him to obtain a safe-conduct from the Emperor Maximilian. Then Luther went to defend his cause. Two of his Theses were selected as being the centre of his heresy—VII, in which he had denied that the Sacrament had any profit unless mixed with faith on the part of the partaker, and LVIII, in which he had denied that the merits of Christ formed any part of that treasure from which the Pope granted indulgences to the 'faithful'. On Cajetan asking Luther to recant on these two issues, Luther asked to be shown from Scripture where they were in error. Cajetan replied by quoting the decrees of the Church. Luther again returned to Scripture only to be told that the Pope was the supreme authority in such matters and was above Scripture and Councils of the Church. Unable to come to any agreement, Cajetan gave Luther an opportunity to go away and reconsider the matter.

Luther returned next day and offered to submit his Theses to the judgement of the Imperial Universities of Basle, Fribourg and Louvain, and if necessary also to the University of Paris. Cajetan was embarrassed at this for it was quite likely that these Universities were similarly affected with Reformed views as was Wittemberg. Again he asked Luther to go away and this time to put his case in writing. When he returned the third time, Luther read a long statement quoting Augustine, and other Christian Fathers and the Scriptures. Cajetan was furious and called it 'mere words'. He agreed however to send it to Rome to be examined. Once more he asked Luther to recant and when he refused he offered him a safe-conduct to go to Rome and be tried there. Luther refused the offer knowing the value of Vatican safe-conducts and remembering that good-faith was not to be kept with

heretics according to the Council of Constance's treatment of Huss. He was astonished at the weakness of Cajetan in his defence of the Roman Catholic position. If this was one of the Pope's great theologians who refused to argue from Scripture and appeared to be unable to do so, what were the rest like at Rome? Cajetan ordered Luther "to be gone and see his face no more, unless he changed his mind," and sensing danger, Luther wrote to the Cardinal a letter and receiving no reply, at dawn on 20th October he left Augsburg quietly on horse. His escape was none too soon. The Cardinal's orders were to arrest him if he refused to recant. Luther reached Wittemberg safely on 31st October, the anniversary of his posting-up of the Theses.

Although Cajetan had failed to obtain a recantation from Luther, the Pope was not willing to excommunicate him at once. He was not the first member of the Roman Catholic Church who had disagreed with the Pope and it was expected in Rome that the trouble might die down and eventually disappear. However the Pope decided to try and appease the Elector of Saxony in whose State Wittemberg was, and get him to hand Luther over for trial. So a Papal Envoy, Charles Miltitz, was sent to Germany with a "golden rose" for the Elector of Saxony. This was a special mark of the Pope's favour and much coveted by the princes of Europe. On his journey Miltitz was amazed to discover how the question of the attack of the German monk on the Pope occupied the discussions of the Germans. Wherever he went he met it, the majority favouring Luther's side. The Elector of Saxony was not too pleased to see Miltitz. He was far enough away from Rome to value what freedom he possessed and resent political interference from the Pope. He was not a heretic nor anywhere approaching it, but he had a mind of his own and had not much love for Italian ecclesiastics. Miltitz then turned his attention to Luther. He tried out the subtle art of diplomacy. He had several interviews with Luther between 4-6th January, 1519, in which he admitted that Tetzel had been wrong and also the Archbishop of Mainz, who had supported him. But he maintained that it was not the doctrine of indulgences that was wrong, only their abuse. He asked

Luther to confess to his error in attacking indulgences. But Luther refused and pointed out that the blame rested squarely on the shoulders of the Pope. After the interviews Miltitz persuaded Luther to agree not to attack the Pope in public so long as the Pope did not attack him. In other words the conflict was to be halted on both sides and nothing controversial published or said. This was a subtle and very dangerous manoeuvre, for the Reformation gained all by spreading the truth and here Luther was silenced, except in preaching and lecturing at Wittemberg. By doing this Miltitz hoped that the matter would die out and gradually disaffected Roman Catholics would forget Luther and peace and unity would return to the Church.

Then on 12th January, 1519 the Emperor of Germany, Maximilian, died and the new Emperor was not elected until 28th June that year. During this period the Regency was in the hands of the Elector of Saxony, in fact the Regency continued until the new Emperor, Charles V, was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle on 23rd October, 1520. This was a period of grace for Luther, as the Pope could not act against him until the political affairs of Germany were settled and a new Emperor chosen. All that time Luther was able to shelter under the protection of the Elector of Saxony who was not unfavourable to his cause. In June 1519 the Papacy broke its truce with Luther. Dr. Eck, the Chancellor of Ingolstadt University, a leading debater and defender of the Roman Catholic Church, issued Thirteen Theses, attacking Luther's teaching and Luther now felt free from his obligation to Miltitz. Eck offered the Reformers an open challenge in public debate, to defend their position and they accepted to come to Leipzig for the debate. They arrived on 24th June; Eck had arrived three days before and received a civic welcome. The city took a serious interest in something that was now of great public concern. German princes and nobility were present and the atmosphere was far from that of a mere academic discussion in a University Hall. Tables were provided for clerks who were to record the debate. The Hall was full of spectators. It lasted from 4-14th July, 1519. The questions discussed were those which have always divided

the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches. It showed the Reformers just how deep the differences were between the two sides. Melanchthon, Luther's fellow reformer, was present, also another lesser known theologian, Carlstadt, Archdeacon of Wittemberg Cathedral, a supporter of Luther.

Carlstadt spoke first in defence of the truth. The controversy centred on a man's will. The proposition defended by Carlstadt was, "Man's will before his conversion can perform no good work. Every good work comes entirely and exclusively from God, who gives to man first the will to do and then the power to accomplish". The Reformers looked back to Augustine and Paul ("the carnal mind is enmity against God") in defence of their proposition. It was a truth which had been lost sight of in the Roman Catholic Church for many generations. Paul had said, "It is God that worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure," and had spoken of men being, "alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them." From this there followed the evangelical truth, "Ye must be born again." "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, that which is born of the Spirit is Spirit." Eck, for the Roman Catholic Church, while admitting that man was a fallen creature, limited the extent of that fall and maintained that he could do something towards his own salvation. In fact he could choose holiness if he wished, and while still unconverted could do acts which had merit, and God would reward these works done in man's own strength with grace, to do what was still needed towards the perfecting of his own salvation. Luther and Carlstadt fought for the truth, "By grace are ye saved; through faith, and that not of yourself, it is the gift of God." This was salvation by grace to the entire exclusion of any human merit. The Roman Catholic Church, while recognising God's grace in salvation, maintained that salvation began in man's own effort and good works, and that these continued in his life, and were to be considered as meritorious in his salvation; that is, salvation by grace and works. To Luther works were also essential, "By their fruits ye shall know them," but the works of a true believer were, as he saw it, an act of obedience; "if ye love me, keep my commandments," and

they in no way acted meritoriously in salvation. Luther firmly believed that, "Faith without works is dead," but saw the truth of Ephesians 3.8. "By *grace* are ye *saved*, through faith . . . " So the controversy centred around one point as it always has and always will in this conflict of Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, when the Protestantism is soundly based on truly Reformed doctrine; Free-will being the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church and Free Grace that of the Protestant Church. The question was, "Has the will power to choose and do was is *spiritually* good?" Eck suggested that under the Reformers' scheme of things, man was reduced to a mere log or stone. He forgot how the Scriptures described the matter, "*dead* in trespasses and sins."

Then the discussion turned on the supremacy of the Pope, and Luther and Eck argued on the text, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." Luther put the Reformed view, that the rock was Christ Himself, Peter confirming what he understood Jesus to mean in his Epistle (1 Pet. 2.6), where under divine inspiration, he attributed the fulfilment of Isaiah 28.16 — "Behold I lay in Sion a chief corner stone", as a reference to Christ. Luther pointed to his interpretation as being that of the early Christian leaders, such as Augustine of Hippo. Eck realised that he was losing and so he turned to raise prejudice against Luther — he accused him of being "a patron of the heresies of Wycliffe and Huss." Luther was bold. He said he strongly disagreed with schism in the Church, but he found that some of the articles of Huss, condemned by the Council of Constance, were plainly evangelical and Christian. In making this stand he not only condemned the Popes, but also the Councils of the Church, and took Protestantism to its final resting place for authority, the Scriptures. This stand lost Luther some of his supporters among the German nobility, who lived in fear of being branded heretics; but it brought out another clear dividing line between Protestant and Roman Catholics, the sole authority of Scripture, and it brought Luther many allies among the students of Leipzig University who, after this debate, moved in large numbers to Wittemberg. Also many of Luther's friends, especially Melanchthon, came to have a

clearer understanding of the truth through listening to the debate, and were later useful in the Lord's work in the Reformation. Luther described his work as being to clear the ground and Melanchthon's to till and plant it. In this 'Leipzig Disputation' the two men were brought closely together in understanding of the great truths of the Reformation. Both sides claimed the victory, though actually no differences were resolved nor could be. For Luther it was a place where he could propagate the truth and this to him was victory, even if Eck did not concede he was right. The two sides were arguing from fundamentally differing positions — Luther basing his arguments on Scripture alone, and Eck on Scripture plus Church traditions and decrees of Popes and Councils. The whole issue was and ever will be unresolvable however much our present generation of so-called 'Protestants' think they can find a solution.

After the Leipzig Disputation with Eck in July 1519, the next event of importance was Luther's publication in September of his famous "Commentary on Galatians". It contained the essence of his understanding of the doctrine of justification by faith and was a manual of the Reformation. It has been reprinted in numerous editions since and is still in print in this country today, and obtainable at any Christian Bookshop. Readers would find it profitable to obtain a copy and read such a book which contains the freshness of the first attack on Roman Catholic errors, especially as many are not conscious today of the tremendous gulf which still divides Roman Catholicism and Protestantism; and such teaching would be an asset in discussion with present day Roman Catholics and a useful book to lend to such people.

Early in 1520 Dr. Eck went to Rome to get Luther excommunicated and succeeded. The decree was published in Rome on 15th June. A letter was sent by the Pope to the Elector of Saxony ordering him to stamp out Luther's heresy. The reaction of the Elector was to resolve to protect Luther. He still had an important say in the political affairs of Germany until Charles V was crowned Emperor in October 1520 and was not prepared to sacrifice Luther to the Pope's anger without a fair trial. Luther realised how precarious his

position was humanly speaking, and in August 1520 he published his "Appeal to the Emperor and German Nobles." In it he outlined the slavery, spiritual and political, which the Papal supremacy had produced in Germany and Europe. Priests were immune from civil law and the Church had its own ecclesiastical courts. He condemned the whole system as one of tyranny, and robbery resulting in the destruction of body and soul. He suggested that the German rulers should resist the Pope by refusing to pay taxes and build monasteries. He also suggested that priests be allowed to marry. The work was a real attack on the Roman Catholic Church and gave to the Reformation in Germany a national appeal. The Reformation was now turning from being a struggle between Luther and the Pope, to be fought out in Germany itself, with Charles V acting as the Pope's agent dealing with a problem in his own Empire, which was as much religious as political, in that it was of such dimensions that it was beginning to form a real dividing issue among the German princes, some of whom supported Luther and some the Pope. In this context the next step for Luther was that he would have to appear before the Emperor and German princes to justify his beliefs.

In the meantime, before that event took place early in 1521, he continued to expose the rottenness of the Catholic Church and wrote his pamphlet "On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church," which was published in October 1520. In it he portrayed the Papacy as the centre of error and evil. The Papal Bull of excommunication arrived at Wittemberg in October 1520. As the Bull was brought to Germany in the hands of Dr. Eck and Aleander, his friend, Luther's books were burnt in public in various cities. Luther replied by burning the Papal Bull in public at Wittemberg on 10th December, 1520 in the presence of the University Doctors and students. There was popular acclaim for this act in Wittemberg and throughout Germany. It was an act of national defiance of the Papacy. Charles V had been crowned Emperor on 23rd October and had at once left Aix-la-Chapelle for Worms (due to the fact that the plague was raging in Aix-la-Chapelle) where he proposed to hold his

first Imperial Diet (Parliament). Aleander, the Pope's envoy, was waiting to persuade Charles to act against Luther. Tetzel, Cajetan, Miltitz and Eck had all failed to stop him spreading the truth and the Papal Bull had not been put into operation fully; Luther was still alive. Aleander approached the Elector of Saxony—only to be told that *he* wanted justice done. No-one so far as he knew, had yet proved justly that Luther was in the wrong. Luther must be brought before a tribunal of impartial judges, he suggested. This all pointed to Luther appearing before the Diet about to be held at Worms. Aleander saw a great danger to the Roman Catholic Church in this—in that it would give Luther and his cause public recognition and a public hearing and spread 'the heresy' even further. If possible the Roman Catholic Church wished to stop Luther having any more publicity for spreading the truth. As the Elector of Saxony was the most powerful prince in Germany and as Charles V owed his election as Emperor of Germany to him (the Elector had refused to be elected Emperor himself) Charles had to conciliate him. But Charles also had to keep on the right side of the Pope. Charles was just on the verge of war with France. He could use the request of the Pope to deal with Luther as a bribe for the Pope's support in his war against France. If the Pope came in on his side he would deal with Luther, if not, he would leave Luther free.

The Diet of Worms opened on 28th January, 1521. The Pope agreed to support Charles against France and the Emperor undertook to deal with Luther. A second Bull had been issued on 3rd January, 1521. The first had excommunicated Luther allowing him a certain period to recant—this one was final and complete; there were no conditions. The Emperor now prepared to fulfil his part and as the most powerful monarch in Europe, Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, with vast armies at his disposal, though only a lad of nineteen or twenty, he set out to exterminate the Lutheran heresy. But he found that, on consulting the princes of Germany, though most of them cared little for Luther, they wanted to maintain their privileges, and one of these was not to give in to the Papacy too quickly. So what Aleander

had feared happened. The princes asked to be allowed to hear Luther for themselves defend his case before the Imperial Diet at Worms. So, under a safe-conduct, Luther was invited on the 6th March, 1521 to appear before the Diet. He arrived at Worms from Wittemberg on 16th April and appeared before the august Assembly of German princes and nobles on 17th and 18th. It is said that it was on this long journey that he composed his famous hymn,

A mighty fortress is our God,
Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott

at Oppenheim on 14th April, just before he reached Worms on the 16th. Great crowds gathered in the streets to welcome him as he entered the city. He appeared the following day—the 17th—before the Emperor at four in the afternoon.

It was a tremendous ordeal for Luther to have to appear before such an assembly. He spent most of that day in prayer. On appearing before the Diet, he was addressed by Dr. Eck, who asked him to own the authorship of his books, which they had there on a table and to retract the opinions expressed in them. Luther owned to their authorship after the titles had been read to him, but he refused to retract his opinions, saying that "the question concerned the salvation of souls" and was too serious to reply to without reflection. The Diet considered his request and allowed him a day's grace. He must appear at the same time on the following day and give his answer. In the morning of the next day Luther felt a horror of darkness descend on his soul, such were his fears; but by the time he had to return to answer before the Emperor the Lord had restored peace and calm to his soul and, as Melanchthon said, when he did appear before the Emperor, "He was more than himself." At this moment Luther was so conscious that the whole cause rested on him, and he so felt his utter insufficiency for it, that he was driven to cast his whole burden on the Lord and the Lord visibly sustained him. It was a fact that he was contending with the whole might of the Roman Catholic Church and the huge political forces of the Emperor of Germany; and what man would not have wilted in such a contest, especially as it was

in public before the eyes of the whole German nation in its Parliamentary Assembly? Luther felt that if he, in nervous agitation, was unable to present his case clearly there, then all would mock his cause and he would bring dishonour on the Lord's Name. But another had gone this way before him and stood before Kings and Emperors, and the Lord had upheld His servant Paul, and so He would His servant Luther, and by increasing the magnitude of the opposition, and bringing His servant to feel his utter need, He would manifest His power over all the opposition of man, bring about a remarkable victory and take all the glory for it to Himself.

So Luther returned to present his final answer. He divided his writings, he said, into three categories. The first were merely exposition of the Scripture, and no-one disagreed with these. In the second group he had attacked the corruption, abuses and oppression of the Papacy, and none could disagree that much of what he said was true. In the third group he had attacked particular people who supported the errors and abuses. He confessed to having treated them perhaps harshly, but if so the truth remained that he was in the right and they were in error. As a man he confessed he was liable to mistake. If they would show him clearly any error in his works, he would admit it. He warned the rulers present of a judgement to come in which all would be on trial. He pointed to the great fallen Empires of Babylon, Egypt and Nineveh. Then, after a short rest, Luther repeated all he had said in Latin (previously he had been speaking in German) for the sake of Charles V who did not understand German very well. In all Luther spoke for two hours. The princes felt that if they had come to judge Luther, in fact he had turned the scales on them and reproved them with an extraordinary authority, which they had to fall before and acknowledge.

When he had finished Dr. Eck rose and accused Luther of not answering the question. He was not there to bring in question the authority of Councils of the Church, but merely to state whether he would or would not retract his error. The authority of the Roman Catholic Church was above question! To this Luther replied, "I will give you an answer—it is this. I

cannot submit my faith either to the Pope or the Councils, because it is clear as day that they have frequently erred and contradicted each other. Unless therefore I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture or on plain and clear grounds of reason, so that conscience shall bind me to make acknowledgement of error, *I cannot and will not retract,* for it is neither safe nor wise to do anything contrary to conscience." Then, looking round the Assembly, he said, "Here I stand. I can do no other. May God help me. Amen." The Assembly was moved to a murmur of applause, as much as was permissible in the presence of the Emperor. The Roman Catholic party was horrified. The news of this was bound to spread throughout the German Empire and all over Europe. Luther was asked to withdraw while the Assembly debated. A real crisis was now on hand. He was recalled and again asked to retract. He said, he had no other answer to give them than that which he had already given. He had won. No martyr's stake could now silence the truth or heal the great divide between truth and error.

From the time of the Diet of Worms in 1521, the Reformation began to take a turn outside the bounds of the German Empire and spread over Europe. The Diet marks the beginning of this expansion of the movement. The princes in the Diet were impressed by Luther's firmness, yet his respect shown to them. The Elector of Saxony was very pleased with Luther's fearless yet respectful bearing before the Emperor and Assembly. The aged Duke of Brunswick, a Papal member of the Diet, sent a servant to Luther's lodgings with a silver tankard of beer immediately after the Diet. Luther felt it was remarkable coming from such a man just after he had passed through such an ordeal—it was truly "a cup of cold water offered in the Lord's name." This prince, when dying shortly afterwards, called for the Bible to be read to him and the page read those words, "Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink in my name, because ye belong to Christ, verily, I say unto you, he shall not lose his reward." From this time many of the princes of Germany became firm friends of Luther and the Reformation. Some openly confessed their change of position at the time. The Elector of

Saxony was firmly resolved to protect Luther, but realised that it would be best if it was done in the least visible way. So while doing all he could to help Luther, he avoided meeting him personally.

The Papal party now persuaded the Emperor to set in motion proceedings to exterminate by all means possible Luther and his heresy. But he would not do this without the consent of the princes and when the matter was raised in the Diet on the following day, two sides became clearly visible; those who supported the Papacy, desiring to burn Luther and scatter his ashes in the Rhine; and those who defended the safe-conduct granted to him, being horrified at such treachery and demanding that it be honoured. The violation of the safe-conduct granted to Huss and then dishonoured was recalled and the Elector of the Palatinate said that, "calamity has never ceased to pursue Germany" for that act of treachery. It should not be repeated. Even Roman Catholic princes, firm in their Catholicism, supported the upholding of the safe-conduct. Had Luther been sacrificed there was every possibility of civil war in Germany at once, such was the strength of the hold of Reformation truths in Germany by 1521. So the Diet rejected the idea of burning Luther. Also Charles V, on the verge of war with France, could not afford to unleash civil war in Germany.

The result was that on 26th April Luther left Worms in peace, surrounded by twenty gentlemen on horseback and followed by large crowds who had come to see this remarkable man. His journey across Germany back north to Wittemberg was amid popular demonstrations, even more enthusiastic than his journey south. A few days after he left the Emperor issued an Edict against him, commanding that as soon as his safe-conduct expired he was to be captured and bound by anyone who found him and sent to the Emperor. The Edict was ratified by a minority group of the princes on 8th May after the majority had left Worms, the Diet being over. The Emperor in fact did not sign it himself until 26th May, though he dated it 8th, his intention being to give it the appearance of having been authorised by the full Diet, which in fact it was not. Luther returned to Wittemberg, thus, with

the Pope's excommunication and the Imperial Edict of arrest hanging over him. How could he survive such immense forces? Yet the Lord was on his side and had prepared a way of escape. For as he passed through the Black Forest on 4th May, he was suddenly seized by masked armed horsemen, sent by friends, and mysteriously rushed away to a castle called the Wartburg, where he was dressed as a knight and given the name Knight George. When Luther looked from his room high up in the castle, on the morning after his 'arrest' he knew where he was, though on the previous day the horsemen had taken a very devious route to shake off pursuers. He was close to Eisenach, the scene of his schooldays and the home of Ursula Cotta who had befriended him when he was in need. He was in fact in the hands of friends. Outside in Germany and Europe no-one knew what had happened to him. As far as was known he had been captured by a mysterious group of horsemen and had completely disappeared. This was the Lord's way of preserving him from the Papacy and the Emperor. He was to stay in this castle lost to the outside world for nearly a year, leaving it eventually on 1st March, 1522 to return to Wittemberg. In this place he was to spend his time in rest which he needed so much after the strain of the years 1517-1521. Also he was to translate the New Testament from Greek to German. He began his translation in September 1521 and the first edition appeared in the same month of the following year. Thus was the Lord's hand seen and felt in the Reformation. "Out of weakness was made strong," was Luther's experience. The Lord's work was enhanced by the magnitude of the victory over such great enemies of the truth—"None can stay his hand or say unto him, What doest thou?"

In Wittemberg the leadership of the Reformation was taken over for the time by Carlstadt, who had spoken with Luther at Leipzig. He pressed on with reform so quickly, destroying images in churches and removing altars and changing the service of Communion from the Mass, that by December 1521 riots developed in many Churches in Wittemberg, some resisting his reforms. This concerned Luther very much. He secretly visited Wittemberg on one

occasion and finally, the following March 1522, he felt he must take the risk and come out of his seclusion to deal with the disturbances. He saw that after so long a period of control, reform must progress slowly; that sincere Roman Catholics who did not agree with the reforms should not be rudely and roughly interfered with in their worship or the Reformation would get a bad name for using force. By now the Reformation teaching was so strong in the Elector of Saxony's Kingdom and the Elector favoured it to such an extent that Luther was comparatively safe, so long as he did not visit the state of a pro-Roman Catholic ruler. Also there were now many states in Germany whose rulers favoured the Reformation. This became clear at the Diet of Nürnberg held in March 1522 when the Diet refused to act on the Edict of Worms, and sent instead a list of grievances to the Pope which it wanted put right before it would act. While the Pope was considering them, the Diet gave permission for the Gospel to be freely preached in Germany by Luther and his followers.

In July 1523 the first martyrs of the Reformation were burnt at Brussels in Belgium. This was within the territory ruled by Charles V, but outside Germany. It showed what could have happened to Luther had not Charles V been opposed by the German princes. In April 1522 the Reformation had started in Switzerland at Zurich, when Zwingli had spoken out against some of the practices of the Catholic Church. Between 1523-4 Luther completed the first part of his translation of the Old Testament. Then in 1524 trouble started in Germany. Held for so long under the firm grip of the Roman Catholic Church, the newly found religious freedom and spirit of inquiry brought to Germany a social revolution. In that year the peasants rebelled in large numbers and burnt down many of the houses of the German nobility and captured several towns. There was much bloodshed before the rising was finally put down by the armies of the princes. The Roman Catholic Church tried to make out that the rising was the direct outcome of the Reformation teaching. Luther roundly condemned the peasants for using force and disassociated the Reformation from the revolt. It was a

very embarrassing position for him, for he agreed with many of the grievances of the peasants and their desire for freedom and knew that the sight of the weakening of the Roman Catholic temporal supremacy in Germany had incited them to rebel against their feudal serfdom. But all his life, except in his stay at the Wartburg castle, when he was known as Knight George, Luther had refused to wear a sword and always resisted the idea of the princes defending the Reformation by force. After he died in 1546, the Protestant princes took up the sword and Germany was rent by the religious wars which Luther had always dreaded and tried to avert, and the Protestant-Roman Catholic struggle was not resolved finally in Germany for another century, until the Peace of Westphalia signed in 1648, by which both sides agreed to leave each other alone as neither could conquer the other.

In July 1524, a month after the start of the Peasants' Revolt, the Roman Catholic princes signed the Alliance of Regensberg with the intention of putting the Edict of Worms into practice and exterminating the Reformed 'heresy'. But they were unable to enforce their views without going to war and this they were not ready to do. In the following year, the Elector Frederick of Saxony, who had always supported Luther's cause, died and was succeeded as Elector by John the Steadfast. This man also took Luther's side and gave him as much support as his predecessor. In June 1525 Luther was married to Katherine von Bora, a lady who had once been a nun. In December he published his well-known book against free-will, called "Of Unfree will", or better known as "The Bondage of the Will." In these years from 1525-1529 the Emperor Charles V fought two wars against the French and so was not able to give much attention to the affairs of Germany. At the Diet of Speyer in 1526 it was agreed by the princes to adjourn the execution of the Edict of Worms until the matter could be more fully discussed. In 1529, when the Diet met again at Speyer, it was decided that in the States which had originally accepted the Edict of Worms, i.e. the Roman Catholic States, nothing could now be changed —the Mass could not be abolished, and no-one could embrace Reformed truths. In other words, the Diet tried to halt

the spread of Reformed views in pro-Roman Catholic areas of Germany and so halt the Reformation from spreading any further. In face of this opposition, six of the princes and fourteen of the States and Cities of Germany who supported the Reformed position, issued a solemn *Protest* and so in course of time the followers of the Reformed Faith received the name *Protestants*.

In June 1530 the Imperial Diet opened at Augsburg and the two sides, Protestant and Roman Catholic, representing the various States of Germany, confronted each other in the German Parliament. At the time of the opening ceremony, when the Pope's delegate gave the benediction, the Emperor and Roman Catholic princes fell on their knees, but the Protestant princes stood erect and refused to bow. The Elector of Saxony, who was present, refused to take Luther with him for the sake of his safety. He left him in the castle at Coburg from April to October while the Diet debated and kept in constant touch with him. Luther gave advice to his supporters from a safe distance. An order was issued by the Diet that no Protestant ministers were to preach at Augsburg. On a protest from the Protestant princes it was agreed that no Roman Catholic clergy should preach either. In the name of the Protestant princes, Melanchthon, Luther's fellow Reformer, drew up a Confession of Faith which was read on 25th June before the Emperor and the whole Diet. When the reading of it started, the Protestant princes rose to signify their assent. The reading of it lasted two hours and was remarkable in that the Protestant cause was so fully and clearly stated in public. This statement of faith, since called. "The Augsburg Confession," was the equivalent for the Lutheran Church in Germany of the 39 Articles for the Church of England. It contained twenty-eight articles. Later the Roman Catholics produced a Confession and it also was read before the Diet.

The differences were now crystal clear between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants and it was obvious to both sides that there could be no reconciliation. The Roman Catholics in the Diet proceeded to pass a decree which almost amounted to a prohibition of religious liberty in Germany. This alarmed

the Protestant princes and they met at Smalkalden in December 1530 after the Diet of Augsburg was over to sign a treaty of mutual defence against all aggressors and called for help from the Kings of France and England. Luther was very hesitant about taking such action. He entirely disagreed with the use of force and felt it was wrong for the Protestant cause to depend for its existence on the use of force. Yet the fact remained that if it had not been for the support of these men and their armies the Protestant cause would have been subject to some very bitter persecution in Germany in Luther's lifetime, whereas under this shield it was allowed to grow.

So the years passed by—in 1534 Luther completed his translation of the Old Testament and the first complete edition of the German Bible was published. In 1539 the first volume of Luther's complete works, the Wittemberg Edition, was published. In 1543 printing started on Luther's great work on Genesis, the result of lectures given between 1535-1545. On 13th December, 1545 the Council of Trent opened its discussions—this was the great Roman Catholic Church Council which was to deal with the rift caused by the Reformation, examine the causes and produce what historians have since called 'The Counter-Reformation.' Luther was not to live to see it accomplish its work. He died while staying at Eisleben, his birthplace, on 18th February, 1546 and his body was taken back to Wittemberg and buried there on 22nd February. Thus died "the monk that shook the world."

JOHN CALVIN

CALVIN was born at Noyon in France in July 1509. His father worked for the local Roman Catholic bishop managing the business affairs of the Cathedral. Educated for a time in Noyon, he went to Paris at the age of fourteen to the College of La Marche, where he received a good grounding in Latin, the international language of Europe at the time, which was to be of such great use to him in his writings for the Reformation—a language which he used for the first and many later editions of his famous work "The Institutes of the Christian Religion." After leaving La Marche he went to the College of Montaigu in 1526. This was a part of Paris University, a training college for Catholic priests. Calvin was a very keen scholar—he rose early to study. At this time the Reformation was well under way—the Diet of Worms had been held in 1521—in 1525 Luther had published "The Bondage of the Will." Calvin was bound to have heard about it. But he came from a strong orthodox Roman Catholic background and it seemed most unlikely that he would be affected by it. But one of his cousins, Olivetan, came to Paris at the time, frequently saw him and had discussions with him about the burning issues of the day. The effect on Calvin was to cause him to have doubts about the Roman Catholic Church which he had always trusted.

It also brought him into conviction of sin. One day he witnessed in Paris the burning of one of the early Protestants and this showed him how great faith these men were given to endure the flames. He asked inwardly the question, how he would die in such circumstances. He then took the advice of his cousin and began to read the Bible. Later in his life in 1557, in his Preface to his "Commentary in the Psalms," he wrote, "I was taken from the study of philosophy and put to learn law from which nevertheless God in His secret providence finally curbed and turned me in another direction. At first, although I was so obstinately given to the superstitions

of the Papacy, that it was extremely difficult to drag me from the depths of the mire, yet by a sudden conversion He tamed my heart and made it teachable, this heart which for its age was excessively hardened in such matters." Earlier in a letter written in 1539 he had said, of the Protestants, "There was one thing especially which kept me from believing these people, that was reverence for the Church. But after I had sometimes listened and suffered being taught, I realised that any such fear that the majesty of the Church might be diminished was vain and superfluous. And when my mind had been made ready to be truly attentive, I began to understand as if someone had brought me a light, in what a mire of error I had wallowed and had become filthy and with how much mud and dirt I had been defiled. Being then grievously troubled and distracted, as was my duty on account of the wretched state into which I had fallen, and yet more on account of the knowledge of eternal death which hung over me, I judged nothing more necessary to me after having condemned with groans and tears my past manner of life, than to give myself up and betake myself to Thy way."

Here we have in Calvin's own words how the truth was revealed to him. Like many servants of God, he rarely spoke of God's work in his own soul. Two things stand out—firstly, his obstinacy and secondly how the Lord tamed his spirit and called him suddenly to understand the truth. His deep reverence for the Roman Catholic Church was similar to Luther's. Now he turned his mind from a career in the Church, which he had been pursuing in Paris, and went to Orleans University to study law. He was looking for a career in the world. He moved on to Bourges, still following his studies in law. There he learnt Greek, which was to equip him later in life to understand the New Testament in its original language. Bourges was a favoured city. It was situated in the Province of Berry, whose ruler, Margaret, Queen of Navarre and Duchess of Berry, sympathised with the Reformation cause. Here was a safe seed-ground for the truth and here for some time before Calvin arrived, it had been preached by certain Roman Catholic priests who had come to a knowledge of it. Calvin's views were already known in Bourges before

his arrival, and when he came the Protestants asked him to become their leader. He did not agree for some time to preach, because he had such a clear view of the greatness of the work and his unfitness to undertake it. But it is said that here at Bourges in 1529, Calvin started preaching and various places are shown in the area today, where he is said to have preached in the open air, in market-places and the surrounding villages. He was twenty years of age at the time.

In 1531 he returned to Noyon for a time, as his father lay dying. After a two-month illness he passed away and Calvin now felt free to give up his career as a lawyer and turn to the Scriptures. He went back to Paris. Here he became friendly with the Rector of the University, Nicolas Cop, for whom he composed a sermon, which the Rector preached in a Paris church on All-Saints Day, 1st November, 1533. The result was that this sermon, which was very evangelical in its content, was denounced by the Franciscan Friars and condemned by the Parlement of Paris. Cop fled from Paris to Basle in Switzerland to escape persecution. Calvin also left Paris quickly and went to Angoulême, near Bordeaux, since the rumour had spread that he was the author of the sermon or had advised Cop on the truth contained in it.

In Angoulême, the birthplace of Margaret of Navarre, he stayed at the home of the Du Tillets, a noble and wealthy family with whom he had been acquainted in Paris. The library of their château contained one of the finest collections of books in France, about 4,000 volumes. Here Calvin did not waste his time. He planned what D'Aubigne has called "the finest work of the Reformation," his book "The Institutes of the Christian Religion." He did not write it at Angoulême, but he collected the materials and arranged the plan of it. Here too he was under the protection of Margaret of Angoulême, Queen of Navarre. He wrote of his escape and place of rest, saying, "When I feared that my stay would be a frightful one, a rest had been prepared for me in quietness, contrary to all expectation and it is the hand of God that has done all this. If we trust Him, He will watch over us Himself." Around him at Angoulême gathered a circle of friends who loved the truth as he did and to them he ex-

plained his plans for "The Institutes". He spent a few weeks in Nérac, April-May 1534, a town where Evangelicals met under the protection of the Queen of Navarre (she was sister of the King of France, Francis I). In the same year he also visited Noyon and Paris and then went to Poitiers, where a group of Protestants gathered round him and he discussed the Reformed view of the Lord's Supper as opposed to the Mass, and here the first reformed Lord's Supper was held by the Protestants in secret in a cave. Towards the end of year 1534, Calvin and his friend, Louis Du Tillet, began to feel that they were in danger so long as they remained in France, and so for safety they went first to Strasbourg and finally to Basle in Switzerland.

At Basle Calvin was especially occupied with writing "The Institutes." He was spurred to publish it by events in France following his departure. In Paris on 17th October, 1534 placards had been put up in prominent places by the Protestants condemning the Mass. This angered Francis I, who felt he ought to have a day of national repentance for such heresy. This he did by going in solemn penitent procession to the Cathedral Church of Nôtre Dame to High Mass and on the way back stopping to witness the burning of several Protestant martyrs, among which were some who had been friends of Calvin. Calvin felt he must defend the cause of his dying friends and justify their innocence to the nations of Europe and fully state the cause for which they had died. He says in the first edition of "The Institutes" published in 1536 that "it was a little booklet containing in summary the principal matters, and it had no other object but that people should be informed what faith was held by those whom I could see evil and lawless flatterers were villifying in a foul and most mischievous way." The false accusations concerned sedition and treason, which was the charge levied against the Protestant martyrs in Paris. Calvin set out to show that they died for their belief in justification by faith—the Reformation doctrine. The little book was first published in Latin. Calvin revised and extended it all his life, publishing it in many editions, until it became a large manual of

Reformation teaching and was translated into many languages.

Recently the Soverign Grace Union have issued a summary of it in a paperback. This is the work of J. P. Wiles and is entitled "Instruction in Christianity". It is about 200 pages in length and is more what we imagine Calvin intended it to be when he first published it in 1536. Readers are recommended to obtain a copy from the S.G.U. and read in an easy form the great truths that Calvin laboured to present to the world in 1536 in the face of the burning of his friends at the stake in Paris. Such truths were indelibly written in the hearts of the men who died courageously for them.

During this year Calvin left Basle, shortly after the publication of his "Institutes", and visited Italy, and then returned to Paris. There he settled his business affairs, sold his family estate at Noyon and set out to leave his homeland for ever. Making for Strasbourg, he was forced to change his route because of warfare on the road and so turned to enter Switzerland through Lyons and Geneva. He intended to stay in Geneva one night—but there in that visit he met Farel, who urged him with great vehemence to stay and help him in the Gospel cause and not to seek some quiet corner to study. Calvin speaks of his unwillingness to listen to Farel, the great Swiss Reformer, saying "Yet I remained in my shame and timidity, unwilling to have to take any definite responsibility." Farel, hearing that Calvin wanted to do some study, went so far as to ask, "that it might please God to curse my rest and the tranquillity for study that I was seeking, if in so great a necessity I were to withdraw and refuse to give my help and assistance." Calvin, frightened by this, but still not very willing, agreed to stay, and so began that long association of the great Reformer with the city of Geneva of which Calvin said, "as if God from on high had stretched out His hand to stay me." His night's stay became a life-time and what he had not seen at once to be the Lord's hand proved to be His ordaining.

William Farel, who was twenty years his senior, was also a French exile. The latter had been called by grace about

1521. He says in his book, "The True Face of the Cross," "I was so soiled with mire and Papal filth and so deeply ruined in it, that all that is in heaven and on earth could not have dragged me from it, if this loving God and this kindly Saviour Jesus Christ in His great grace had not pulled me out, drawing me with His Gospel." Later he wrote, "But when God . . . made Himself known to me through a pious brother (Lefèvre) as God who will be loved and venerated alone . . . then my mind was led to Him by various circumstances and having come into port was fixed on Him alone." Soon after this he was forced to leave France and took refuge in Switzerland where in 1524 he openly preached the Gospel for the first time. At Neuchâtel his preaching roused the people to remove all the statues from the churches. He came to Geneva to preach in 1532. Violence was raised against him by the Roman Catholic clergy. He was almost thrown into the Rhône and had to leave Geneva for a time. Some of his followers stayed and preached the Gospel in the open air and after the Gospel obtained a footing, in 1533 Farel was able to return. In March 1534 he took over a Franciscan Monastery and used it as a centre from which to spread the truth. In that year the people of Geneva demolished several suburbs of the city outside the city walls as a defence against Roman Catholic princes. In 1536 the attack came in the form of a siege from the Duke of Savoy. It was relieved by an army sent by the Protestant city of Berne and the Duke of Savoy was completely defeated, being forced to retreat, and never attack Geneva again. In May 1536 the City Council of Geneva solemnly declared their intention to follow the Reformed Faith. Two months later Calvin arrived at Geneva seeking a quiet place of exile and not intending to stay. He says of the state of the City at the time that "everything was in confusion."

How urgent then was the situation to Farel. Here was the young writer of the "Christian Institutes", (Calvin was about twenty-seven at the time) come to the City at the hour of crisis. Farel had been able by God's help to stir up the people against Roman Catholicism. It needed a greater man to lay the foundation of the new Church. Farel was humble enough

to realise that Calvin was the leader sent as a great teacher for the new Church. Calvin started in a humble way as "lecturer in Holy Scripture". His first important task was to draw up the articles of religion for the Protestant Church. This he did in the form of Twenty-One Articles. Then there developed a dispute between the Ministers of the Reformed Faith and the City Councillors of Geneva. According to the Articles, a man might become a member of the new Church upon a profession of belief in them. They included the right of the Minister to refuse the Lord's Supper to any he considered unfit and men were appointed from the congregation to watch the behaviour of those in the city and report anything which would unfit a man to attend the Lord's Supper. All the people had originally attended the Mass after Confession. Now when the city suddenly became Protestant, it did not necessarily mean all were called by grace, and it rested with the Ministers to watch the Lord's Table, as it was upon a profession of faith and not a confession of experience that membership was granted. But this angered the City Councillors, who ordered the Ministers to give up their right to excommunicate and withhold participation at the Lord's Supper. This Calvin, Farel and the other Reformers refused to do, maintaining that they should control Church order and not the City Council. The result was that in April 1538 the conflict came to a head and the Council ordered Farel, Calvin and the other Reformers to leave Geneva within three days.

Calvin first went to Basle where he supervised a new edition of "The Institutes". Then at the request of the Reformer, Martin Bucer, he made his way to Strasbourg. He was now twenty-nine. Bucer, seventeen years older than him, was one of the first generation of Reformers and knew Luther. Here Calvin was able to discuss the problem of participation at the Lord's Supper. The Roman Catholic confessional had been abolished at Strasbourg. Calvin now substituted for it, an interview with the Minister before the service, for each participant, to guard against abuses. Also overseers were appointed to watch the lives of the people. It seems strange that the Reformers should not use the method of confession before the Church members of a personal experience of

conversion, but one must realise that they still accepted infant baptism as a symbol of entrance to church membership. Bucer believed in the four ministries, as he called it—Pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons and Calvin followed this when he returned to Geneva. At Strasbourg in 1539 Calvin published his "Commentary on Romans" and also in the same year a small volume of Psalms in French verse together with the music for singing in the Protestant services. While there he married Idelette de Bure. Their marriage did not last many years, as after a long illness she died in 1549. He referred to her as "my excellent life-companion, who if it had been necessary would have faced with me not only exile and poverty, but even death." Calvin lectured in theology at the Protestant Academy but received no salary. He lived in comparative poverty on his inherited estate and the sale of his books. On occasions he travelled to take part in discussions between Protestants and Roman Catholics, visiting Frankfurt in 1539, Worms and Ratisbon in 1541. At Frankfurt he met Melanchthon whose close friend he became, but he never met Luther. Then as the situation grew quieter at Geneva and those who supported Calvin and Farel increased their influence in the city, the Reformers returned, Calvin in September 1541.

On the first Sunday, he entered the pulpit he had previously vacated, and began to expound the Scriptures from the place where he had left off in 1538. Nothing was said, past recriminations were forgotten and the City Councillors accepted the authority of the Ministers over the Church, though they still attended the sessions of the governing Council of the Church and nominated the elders. The discipline of the Church was controlled by the twelve elders and the Ministers who formed a body known as the Consistory. Calvin now took up the main phase of his life's work from 1541-1564 writing, preaching and lecturing. He had to meet with much opposition in Geneva. One group called 'the Libertines' demanded all the usual wordly pleasures. Things such as dancing, theatrical performances and drunkenness were banned by the City Council supported by the Consistory of the Church. Life in Geneva in the Sixteenth Century was very rough. On occa-

sions Calvin was faced with riots in his Church with drawn swords. The same conduct occurred when he put the case for law, order and morality before the City Council. His influence however, was great for the moral welfare of the people of the city, though he has often been accused of acting dictatorially. In fact, he did little more than the laws of our own country do today to stop open evil.

Gradually around him at Geneva gathered a distinguished group of theologians, noted among whom was Theodore Beza, who after 1552 became his right-hand man and eventually his successor when he died. One immense problem with which Calvin had to deal was the denial of the doctrine of the Trinity by a man called Servetus. Servetus was condemned by the City Council of Geneva for heresy and was burnt there in 1553. This action in which Calvin was concerned has drawn on the Reformed cause the sort of condemnation that Oliver Cromwell's action at Drogheda drew on him. We cannot in any way condone Calvin's agreement with the sentence. The trial was just—all the proceedings were fair with a defence and prosecution. Calvin tried to get the execution changed from burning to beheading. But the fact remains that he agreed with the punishment of death for heresy. Calvin's age saw as much danger in errors of doctrine as in crimes such as murder, and an equivalent punishment was meted out for both. "Calvin was wrong to consider that heresy should be punished by .... death, but he was right to think that the denial of the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ were infinitely serious matters." (Jean Cadier, "The Man God Mastered," p.162, I.V.F.).

In his life Calvin produced Commentaries on most of the books of the Bible. They were the results of many lectures he gave at Strasbourg and at Geneva which were taken down and printed in the form of Commentaries. Last century they were reprinted by the Calvin Translation Society and are in print again today. His influence was very great in his day and since. Exiles gathered at Geneva from many countries including England and Scotland, especially in the reign of Queen Mary, and great men such as John Knox listened to Calvin's lectures. Later Knox applied the principles of

faith and discipline he had learnt at Geneva in Scotland. In 1559 an Academy was founded in Geneva on a twofold scheme of the equivalent of present day Secondary and University education and students gathered in large numbers especially from France. Calvin also kept up a large correspondence—his works include four thousand letters to his friends, Farel, Bucer, Beza and many other correspondents, including the King of England, the young Protestant Edward VI and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, who eventually died at the stake in the reign of Mary. For much of his life his health was poor, yet he never spared himself for the sake of the Gospel. He died in 1564 at the comparatively early age of fifty-five. Farel, who was over eighty, outlived him for one year, and walked many miles to visit him on his death-bed. He was buried very simply as was his wish and no stone marks his grave, the exact position of which is now unknown.

His teaching we know so well. He emphasised the doctrines of grace and his theology has its own name in "Calvinism". Yet this is unfair to him. His very wish to be buried without pomp and ceremony showed his desire to leave no system of truth named after him. He was the last person, like Luther, to wish his name to be associated with a particular type of Christianity. In his whole life and work he had one sole aim, namely to give all glory to God. He believed that the revelation of truth which he had was the correct one. He emphasised God's sovereignty, but only because he saw that the whole of truth centred around God's revealed will, and that a Christianity which allowed any say to man's so-called free-will was a denial of God's sovereignty in election. This clear teaching in his writings has stood as a defence of the truth in many generations and it is a great encouragement to witness it being revived today. Such a revival in this country and in the United States is a sign which ought to encourage us, for we live in times when such doctrine is despised by the majority, and we greatly need another Reformation.

ULRIC ZWINGLI

ZWINGLI was born in the village of Wildhaus in the valley of Toggenburg in South-East Switzerland on New Year's Day 1484. His father was a shepherd—his home a cottage on the mountain-side. He was one of eight boys. He spent his early years in the mountain valley, until at the age of nine he went to school at Wesen and later to a school at Basle. In these early years he showed signs of brilliance. His father decided to send him to the most famous school in Switzerland at Berne. Here he studied Latin and Greek under one of the most brilliant teachers in Switzerland. But he came in danger of being persuaded to enter a Dominican monastery, and when his father heard of it, he ordered him to return home to Wildhaus. While his father had connections with the Church—he had a brother who was Dean of Wesen and had advised him on young Ulric's education—he had no intention of letting his son become a monk. Wylie comments on this, "The hand that led Luther into the convent, guided Zwingli past it." Though he went home at the command of his father, Zwingli had now become a scholar and felt unable to rest in the shepherd's life of his family. So on the advice of his uncle, he went to Vienna and entered the High School there to resume his studies in Classics and also take up Philosophy. He stayed in Vienna from 1500-1502 and then again returned to Wildhaus. Now eighteen, he returned for a second time to Basle to teach in a school there and study at the University. He received his Master of Arts degree at Basle, but he never made use of it in his life, saying that, "One is our Master, even Christ."

Between 1512-1516 there came to Switzerland a number of men afterwards to be distinguished in the Reformation. Leo Juda, a little man with a sickly body, but a fearless spirit, formed a friendship with Zwingli at Basle which lasted to their death. Both men were later to work in conjunction in

the work of the defence of the Gospel. Another whose eyes were being opened was Wolfgang Capito, who had been born in Germany in 1478 and came to Basle in 1512. He had started to study the Epistle to the Romans and it had so opened his eyes to the errors of the Roman Catholic Church, that though a priest he soon found it against his conscience to perform the Mass. John Hausschein—called in Greek Oecolampadius (light of the house), a close friend of Capito, came to Basle in 1515, at the invitation of the Bishop, to preach in the city. All these men, including Zwingli were at the time loyal members of the Roman Catholic Church, the only Church in Europe, but while remaining in it their eyes were gradually being opened to its heresies. In this period Erasmus the famous Greek scholar came to Basle. He had just translated the New Testament into Latin from the original Greek and published it at Basle on 1st Feb. 1516; Oecolampadius had helped him in the work. Another man of repute was Thomas Wittenbach. He had come to Basle in 1505 and it was at his lectures that Zwingli first met his life-long friend Leo Juda. It was Wittenbach who, skilled in Hebrew, Greek and Latin, had studied the Scriptures in their original languages and had come to a knowledge of the glorious Gospel. He was the first to show Zwingli and others that beside the scholastic theology of the Roman Catholic Church founded on the teaching of Thomas Aquinas, there was a Biblical doctrine from which that Church had wandered—a far older doctrine—the death of Christ as the only ransom for our souls. Here was the seed of the Gospel, first sown in the heart of Zwingli under the power of the Holy Spirit, through the teaching of Wittenbach. Such men as we have mentioned in this group at Basle who influenced the young Zwingli, were the morning stars of the Reformation in Switzerland. Many greater names have succeeded them. Wylie expresses it very well when he says, "Be the world's day ever so long or ever so bright, the stars that shone in the dawn (of the Reformation) will never cease to shine." The lives of the saints are to the glory and praise of God and all glory redounds to His Name as we remember these men taught of the Spirit in such a dark and erroneous era of the Church's

history. Let us beware of returning to the same darkness and error again.

In 1506 another step in Zwingli's career opened for him. He was invited to become pastor of the parish of Glarus. He was ordained a clergyman at Constance and took up his post shortly afterwards at the age of twenty-two. His parish was a very large one, embracing nearly one third of a Canton. He had a serious concern for the spiritual welfare of his flock, though he still spent much of his time in studying the classics, not wholly devoting himself to the Scriptures. He still had much to learn and much to give up. He founded a Latin School at Glarus and sent his pupils to his old University at Vienna. In this period in his life he was forced to take part in a war which Pope Julius II was waging against France. A Swiss Cardinal led some of the clergy of Switzerland and their parishioners across the Alps to fight on behalf of the Pope in a war from which many did not return. The scenes of carnage and the awful spectacle of a religious war added to Zwingli's doubts about the Roman Catholic Church. When he returned he took up his Greek studies and began to read the New Testament in its original tongue. Wylie says, "The young priest of Glarus now placed himself in the presence of the Word of God." A beautiful scene, after the dark days of Medieval Catholicism with all its mysticism and superstition, for the Holy Spirit to direct a man's thoughts and desires to a study of His Holy Word. And Zwingli more than Luther and the other Reformers was shown so clearly two great principles regarding the Word of God: firstly its sole, infallible authority for all teaching, doctrine and practice in the Church; secondly its own self-interpreting nature, Scripture being expounded by Scripture, and not to be interpreted by any one body of men or scholars such as the Roman Catholic Church claimed and still claims. The Spirit, Zwingli maintained, revealed the meaning of Scripture to every earnest and prayerful reader. He said, "The Scriptures come from God, not from men and even that God who enlightens will give thee to understand that the speech comes from God. The Word of God . . . cannot fail; it is bright, it teaches itself, it discloses itself, it illumines the soul with all salvation and

grace, comforts it in God, humbles it so that it loses itself and even forfeits itself, and embraces God in itself." Zwingli had experienced what he wrote about in his own soul. Having come from a dry study of the classics and philosophy to the Scriptures, he found in them light and life.

Writing in 1522 Zwingli says, "When seven or eight years ago, I began to give myself wholly up to the Holy Scriptures, philosophy and theology would always keep suggesting quarrels to me. At last I came to this, that I thought, 'Thou must leave all that is false and learn the meaning of God purely out of His own simple Word.' Then I began to ask God for His light and the Scriptures began to be much easier to me, although I am but lazy." Here we have a view of Zwingli's struggles in coming to an understanding of the Scriptures and the battle of reasoning which preceeded his acceptance of it under the teaching of the Holy Spirit. From neither Wittemburg nor Geneva could he obtain any help in this matter. He had not even heard of Luther at this time in his life and Calvin was still a boy at school. Zwingli learnt the truth alone, just as Luther and Calvin were taught, by a study of the Scriptures under the teaching of the Holy Spirit. He said, "I began to preach the Gospel in the year of grace 1516, at that time namely when even the name of Luther had not been heard in our country." Wolfgang Capito also spoke of this early period in the Reformation, his words being recorded in a letter to Bullinger where he wrote, "Before Luther had appeared in public, Zwingli and I had conversed together regarding the overthrow of the Pope." Here is seen the mighty hand of God working in individual hearts and bringing about the Reformation, each Reformer having his own individual work to do.

The Reformation in Switzerland had a different character about it to that in Germany. Wylie suggests that the differences varied according to the kind of error which each part of the Reformation exposed and attacked. Luther attacked the system of Roman Catholic theology which grounded salvation on works such as penances, indulgences, confessions, absolutions and masses. Luther's answer to this was the doctrine of justification by faith, by which he exposed the monastic ideal

of 'a holy life'. Zwingli on the other hand attacked the scholastic type of theology of such men as Aquinas with its philosophical system of rules and laws by which a man might by his free-will and intellect discover the truth and become spiritually illuminated. Zwingli's answer was to emphasise the sole authority of the Word of God, the infallibility of Scripture, removing reason from the supreme place which scholastic theologians had given it. He of all the Reformers had the clearest view of the Gospel based on Scripture alone, and all doctrine and practice deriving from it. He was more clearly shorn of all the trappings of Roman Catholicism than Luther—especially in his view of the Lord's Supper, coming as he did, to the view of the simple service of remembrance.

In 1516 Zwingli was offered the post of Preacher at the monastery of Einsiedeln. This contained one of the most famous shrines in Switzerland to which thousands came every year on pilgrimage to obtain the indulgences secured by a visit to the statue of the Virgin Mary, "Our Lady of Einsiedeln," said to perform miracles. The monastery was near Lake Zurich and the Abbot was strangely a man set on removing superstition from his Abbey. Zwingli was in some doubt whether to accept the offer, as he could see himself being shut away in this mountain retreat just at a time when his heart was set on spreading the Gospel. But on consideration he realised that in such a place he could spread the truth to the thousands of pilgrims who came to Einsiedeln each year. So he accepted the offer and from the shrine of "Our Lady of Einsiedeln" pilgrims heard the Gospel, were warned of the futility of coming to the statue of Our Lady for indulgences and told the way of salvation through Christ and Him crucified. Many rejoiced to hear the Good News, but for some, rather like Naaman, the way Zwingli preached seemed too easy and they preferred the hard tortuous mountain climb and the long pilgrimage to the shrine, seeing in such works of their own their way of salvation. These objected to being told on reaching the monastery the utter futility of their labours. But for others, the Gospel reached their hearts and they went back to their homes with a love for it. So out of this centre of spiritual barrenness came forth meat and the

shrine of "Our Lady of Einsiedeln" became a centre for the propagation of the Reformed Truth. Gradually the numbers of the pilgrims lessened as Zwingli's work prospered. The Pope did not interefere. Zwingli's Bishop was only too well aware what was going on, but he also knew that Zwingli had brought his parishioners from Glarus to fight on the Pope's behalf against the French and as the Pope might still need this help in future he saw no need to antagonise Zwingli.

Zwingli continued his work at Einsiedeln for three years; then in December 1518 the post of Preacher at the College of Canons at Zurich became vacant and on 11th December Zwingli was elected to the office. The work of the Canons was to conduct the services of the Cathedral and run the Cathedral School. So Zwingli had the pulpit of Zurich Cathedral from which to preach the everlasting Gospel. It would seem that among the Canons were some who had an interest in the Gospel, for them to have elected Zwingli to the office of Preacher. Zurich was the central city of the Swiss Cantons. On 1st January 1519, on his thirty-fifth birthday, Zwingli preached his first sermon from the pulpit of Zurich Cathedral —a position which gave him a hearing throughout Switzerland. How remarkable that the Lord should raise up and place His servant in such a prominent position at such a time. Not many months previously on 31st October 1517, Luther had posted his 95 Theses on the door of the Castle Church at Wittemburg. Zwingli began his ministry by reading the first chapter of the Gospel of Matthew and expounding it. He continued on successive Sundays to go through the same Gospel. The two leading subjects of his ministry were the Word of God, the one infallible authority of the Church; and the death of Christ, a complete sacrifice for sin. He was also fired with patriotism for his country which caused him to urge his fellow countrymen to seek to free themselves from the shackles of the Papacy. He had been a witness of the Papal wars with France and had been sickened by the sight.

He was to be further sickened in 1518 by the sight of the sale of indulgences in Switzerland. The same traffic, authorised by the Pope to Tetzel in Germany was given in Switzerland to a man called Bernadin Samson, an Italian

monk. He travelled through Switzerland offering his indulgences for sale. When he came to Zurich, Zwingli prevailed on the City councillors to refuse him entrance, and although they later let him in, as he pretended to have a special message for them from the Pope, they refused to allow him to sell any of his indulgences. Zwingli told the inhabitants of Zurich "God only can forgive sins; none on earth can pardon sin. You may buy this man's papers but be assured you are not absolved. He who sells indulgences is a sorcerer like Simon Magus; a false prophet like Balaam; an ambassador of the king of the bottomless pit." Shortly after this visit of Samson to Switzerland, the country was struck by the plague, "the Great Death", and this showed the awful fallacy of resting one's hope on Papal indulgences. Death swept across the country in the Autumn of 1519 and hourly Zwingli was at the bedside of dying members of his congregation. Eventually he went down with the disease himself and nearly died. In the illness he was firmly persuaded of the truth he had been preaching, being made willing to die and rest his soul's salvation on the Lord Jesus and faith in His finished work on Calvary. It seemed inevitable that like so many others he would die, and news was circulated to that effect. But the Lord spared him to continue the work of the Reformation in Switzerland.

Returning to his pulpit after his illness and the awful effects of the plague, which had left a solemn impression on the hearts of his hearers, Zwingli's ministry took on a deeper vein. He now preached the Law and the Gospel—"As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." The Cathedral became crowded with hearers. He still remained a Roman Catholic, saying Mass and abstaining from meat on fast days. He did not attempt to overthrow Roman Catholicism, but his aim and object was to restore Christianity to its state as he read of it in the days of the Apostles. He started a Friday lecture for peasants who came to market on that day. On Sundays, having finished preaching on the Gospel of Matthew, he went on to the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of Paul and Peter and finally the Hebrews. In a letter dated 31st Dec. 1519, he reported that, "At Zurich up-

wards of 2,000 souls have already been so strengthened and nourished by the milk of the Word that they can now bear stronger food and anxiously long for it." And from Zurich there spread around Switzerland the seeds of the Reformation. In Lucerne, Myconius, a friend of Zwingli and a schoolmaster, tried to spread the Gospel among his pupils, but was eventually forced to give up and return to Zurich. At Basle, Capito and Hedio, friends of Zwingli, propagated Reformed Truths at this time, though the city did not formally accept the Reformed faith until 1528. Berthold Haller spread the Reformation from Zurich to Bern. He had been a fellow student of Melanchthon and came to Bern as preacher at the Cathedral in 1520. Following the example of Zwingli, he expounded the Gospels in his pulpit at Bern. After a severe struggle, Haller saw the Canton of Bern accept the Protestant Faith in 1528. The event had been preceded by a conference at Bern in which Roman Catholics and Protestants had publicly stated their case. Delegates had come from other Cantons to listen and took back with them many of the truths of the Reformation to other parts of Switzerland. Thus Zurich and her great Reformer Zwingli could claim in the Lord's hand to have had a great influence in the foundation and spread of the Reformation in Switzerland. Haller facing fierce opposition to the Gospel at Bern kept in constant touch with Zwingli. He would perish one day, he feared, trying to preach the Gospel "by the teeth of these bears." "No," replied Zwingli, "you must tame these bear cubs by the Gospel. You must neither be ashamed nor afraid of them. For whosoever is ashamed of Christ before men, of him will Christ be ashamed before his Father." Encouraged by Zwingli's letters Haller pressed on until he was rewarded in seeing the Canton and city of Bern, the first after Zurich of the Swiss Cantons, pass over to the side of the Reformation.

In Zurich Zwingli worked by gradual means, firstly in 1521 attacking the Roman Catholic use of fasts, especially the abstention from eating meat on Fridays. He saw how necessary it was to work slowly, and gradually opened men's minds to the errors of the Church. The Bishops soon realised that to allow even this matter of fasts to be discussed as unscriptural,

could lead to other points of Roman Catholic teaching being questioned. They openly attacked Zwingli, and brought the matter before the governing Council of the Canton of Zurich. Zwingli defended himself, quoting I Timothy 4.3. about "abstaining from meats". The Bishop of Constance called his teaching heretical, and the Bishop of Lausanne threatened excommunication to any who read Zwingli's writings or those of Luther. When these attacks failed to silence him, the Bishop of Constance complained to the Diet (Parliament) of the Swiss Confederation. Zwingli, who could see that persecution might soon start, reacted quickly. He called an Assembly of all sympathetic to Reformed teaching at Einsiedeln in 1522. This Assembly sent a petition to the Diet and the Bishop of the Diocese, asking that the Gospel might be preached freely, and priests should be allowed to marry. A summary of the Reformed faith was included with the Petitions, pointing out that such truths were drawn from Scripture, and would, if spread, encourage good living, and clear the country of many evils. The manifesto was ignored by the Church authorities, but became a banner round which the lovers of the Gospel might rally.

In 1523 Zwingli asked the Council of Zurich to allow the Reformation Truths to be debated in public, and this request was granted, the debate beginning on the 29th January. He had printed Sixty-Seven Articles of the Reformed Faith, which he defended from the Scriptures. The first attacked the Church's claim that Scripture had no authority unless sanctioned by the Church. The others stated that Jesus Christ is our only Teacher and Mediator; that He alone is the Head of believers; that all who are united to Him are members of His body, children of God and members of the Church; that Jesus Christ is the one sovereign and eternal Priest; that the Mass is not a sacrifice; that the Bible permits all men, including ministers of the Gospel to marry; that monasteries should be dissolved; that God alone can pardon sin, and that there is no such place as Purgatory after death. These Articles Zwingli had printed before the debate started. They were the Swiss counterpart of Luther's "95 Theses", though not identical in content. Over 600 attended the Conference,

though the representatives of the Reformed side came only from Bern and Schaffhausen. This showed how weak their cause was as yet among the Swiss Cantons. The Reformers sat alone at a table in the middle of the Assembly to defend the cause of the Gospel. As Zwingli spoke in defence of the truth, the parallel with Luther at Worms immediately comes to mind, though the Assembly was a less august one. Zwingli argued with Faber, the Bishop's Deputy, and his fellow Reformers Hoffman of Schaffhausen, and Leo Juda spoke as well. But there was no common ground as the Reformers based all their arguments on the Bible, and the Roman Catholic theologians referred constantly to tradition and Decrees of Church Councils. The meeting showed the great division between the two sides. The Council of Zurich issued its Edict after the debate that all the preachers in the city and Canton of Zurich should teach only those things that could be proved from Scripture. This was a victory for Zwingli's cause, though he had a feeling that he had won it too easily.

He now set about writing a book based on accepted practices of worship in the Roman Catholic Church, her ordinances and ceremonies, to show how unrelated they were to Scripture, and lacking in any Biblical authority. This at once received a wide circulation. In his Bible studies on the Acts of the Apostles, he showed the development of the early Christian Church, and the spread of the Gospel, and set about bringing out a practical application in Zurich. The large number of Cathedral Canons were reduced. Payment was abolished for baptism, burial and other rites of the Church; choir services were replaced by preaching and exposition of the Scriptures. The money saved from these reforms was used to found a school in Zurich, train pastors and generally educate the youth of the city. Next he suggested the dissolution of nunneries and monasteries, and the Council of Zurich agreed to this. Nuns had been allowed to leave their cloisters if they wished in 1523, and return to civil society. Some had done so, but others had remained in their cloisters. Now in 1524, the Council officially dissolved the remaining monasteries and nunneries in the city. All the money from the dissolution was devoted to poor relief, benefit for the sick and for educa-

tion. Then the Council decreed that priests could marry if they so wished. Leo Juda was married shortly after this decree, and Zwingli, who had already been privately married in 1522, celebrated his marriage publicly in the Cathedral Church in April 1524. His marriage had been no secret to his friends or enemies. Its public proclamation marked a further stage in the Swiss Reformation; the denial of the Roman Catholic teaching of a celibate clergy. Thus the Reformation advanced a step at a time and it is remarkable that it did this at Zurich with so little disturbance.

The next step was to abolish the Mass and to clear the Churches of all images. Zwingli first preached on the subject, and afterwards put his ideas down in the form of Eighteen Propositions. Then in October 1523, the Council of Zurich organised another public debate to discuss the two issues of images and the Mass. Nine hundred came to the debate, including 350 priests. Zwingli and Leo Juda sat at the table in the centre of the Assembly to defend the Eighteen Propositions. Zwingli first stated his views on the Church, "that she was created by the word of God, had Christ as her only Head and that the source of all her teaching and authority was the Bible". This was an entirely new view of the Church to most of his hearers, who saw the Church as the organisation which had the Pope as its head. Without such a view, the Assembly before which Zwingli was expressing his views, must have been purely a body of "heretics", those breaking away from the orthodox Roman Catholic teaching. But as Zwingli and his fellow Reformers saw it, it was the Roman Catholic Church who had broken from orthodox Catholic teaching many centuries before, when such concepts as the Mass had been introduced—and they, the Reformers, were merely restoring sound doctrine and teaching according to the Bible. Zwingli claimed an authority to examine the truth in the light of Scripture for the Church of God at Zurich, free from any authority of any other body such as the Roman Catholic Church. Such a concept of the authority of the local Church, he saw as Scriptural, so long as the local Church conformed to the teaching of Scripture. Then from Scripture, he went on to show that all images and the wor-

shipping of them was forbidden, and the Conference accepted this as true. The subject of the Mass was then debated, and Zwingli showed how the Lord's Supper was a memorial and not a sacrifice. "He considered the Supper to be a remembrance instituted by Christ at which He will be present, and whereby He, by means of His word of promise and outward signs, will make the blessing of His death, whose inward power is eternal, to be actually effective in the Christian for the strengthening and assurance of faith," (Dorner, "History of Protestant Theology"). Thus he attacked the material concept of transubstantiation, and any view which approached to it, such as consubstantiation, which suggested the spiritual presence of Christ in the bread and wine rather than His corporeal presence taught in transubstantiation. With hardly one expression of disapproval, the Conference accepted Zwingli's view of the Lord's Supper. This was in fact a far purer view than that of Luther, who still had a mystical view of the words, "This is my body", though he denied transubstantiation. Zwingli moved with caution and did not immediately demand the removal of all images and the abolition of the Mass in Zurich. But images were to be covered over, and those who wished, could receive the Lord's Supper in the articles of bread and wine. The city Council also abolished ritualistic processions in the streets, carrying the Host or wafer, which was a practice of the Roman Catholic Church.

Finally, in June, 1524, the city Council had all images removed from the Zurich Churches. This caused the Diet of the Swiss Confederation to react and threaten to stop the Reformation in Zurich by force, if it were allowed to continue any longer. Switzerland was dividing strongly into Roman Catholic and Protestant areas, and soon civil war would ensue, much against the wish of the Reformers. Before the year 1524 was out, persecution had started, and two supporters of the Protestant Faith were beheaded. Zwingli, far from being frightened at the prospect of a martyr's death, pressed on with his demands for the abolition of the Mass. This was granted by the city Council in 1525. Zwingli preached from Exodus 12 verse 11 "Ye shall eat it in haste: it *is* the Lord's passover." In a dream the previous night, he had been shown

how the text, "It *is* the Lord's passover" was so closely parallel to, "This *is* my body," and as he was quite clear that the passover lamb was only a symbol, so he was confirmed in his belief that the bread used in the Lord's Supper was also only a symbol. And so on the Thursday before Easter 1525, the Lord's Supper was celebrated for the first time at Zurich according to the Protestant form. A table was set with a white cloth with wooden plates and bread on them, and wooden goblets filled with wine. The altars were converted into pulpits from which the Gospel was preached before the Lord's Supper was administered. The whole was simply copied from the Last Supper in the upper room as the Lord intended it to be performed. This was one of the key-stones of the Reformation, the Zurich Zwinglian view of the Lord's Supper as a memorial service. Even Luther himself was not brought so far as to see the ordinance in this simple light, and disagreed strongly with Zwingli over the issue. The two met at Marburg in 1529 to discuss their differences of view, but no conclusion was reached and Protestantism was accordingly left divided in Europe over this issue, the Lutheran Church maintaining the doctrine of consubstantiation, and Zwingli and his followers, the simple memorial view of the service. Before they parted, the two sides, Zwinglian and Lutheran, signed the Marburg Confession, in which they stated all the points on which they were agreed, and these included the fundamental core of Protestant truth, the Deity of Christ, original sin and the Fall, justification by faith, the authority of Scripture, and the rejection of tradition. But over the Communion Service there was no agreement.

Within two years of this meeting with Luther, Zwingli had died. The Roman Catholic Cantons of Switzerland had joined up with Roman Catholic Austria to silence the Reformation at Zurich by armed force. The citizens of Zurich prepared to fight, and Zwingli went to battle with them. At first a peace was signed between the Roman Catholics and Protestants, but it was short lived. In September, 1530, the Protestant pastors of Zurich, Bern, Basle and Strasburg met at Zwingli's home in Zurich to discuss the serious situation. A year later, in October, 1531, five Roman Catholic Cantons again pre-

pared for war. The citizens of Zurich, with Zwingli as Chaplain to the Army went out to fight, and were defeated. Zwingli was injured in the battle, was recognised among the wounded and killed in cold blood. Thus on a battle field, the great Reformer met his death. He was no less a martyr for the truth than if he had died at the stake. In Zurich a peace was signed, the only stipulation being for toleration. The Reformed Faith was suppressed, altars were set up, the Mass was restored and monasteries re-opened. Wylie comments; "Zwingli had fallen; but in this same land a mightier was about to arise;" even John Calvin.

JOHN KNOX

KNOX was born about 1505 at Gifford, a village in East Lothian. He received his early education at the Grammar School at Haddington, where he learnt Latin and from where he went on to Glasgow in 1521 to the University. The Professor of Theology and Philosophy at the time was John Mair. Scotland was a wholly Roman Catholic country and Glasgow University was no exception to this. But Knox's professor was not by any means an extreme Catholic. He taught that a General Council of the Church had power over the Pope; he denied the temporal supremacy of the Pope; he censured the clergy for their propensity to accumulate money and live well. In those days just after the ferment of ideas had been begun by Luther at Wittemberg in October 1517, Europe was alive with criticism of the Church, and so Knox came into contact with some of it at Glasgow. But John Mair did not seem to see much beyond the obvious outward abuses in the Roman Catholic Church. His main teaching consisted of the current philosophical and intellecutal religion tinctured with superstition. Knox, like Luther and many other of the Reformers, soon became dissatisfied with this scholastic religion, though he did not break with it all at once. He obtained his M.A., and then taught philosophy in the University for some time. He was ordained a priest a year or two before 1530.

Between 1530-1535 a change began to take place in him. He dropped his scholastic studies and was led to the Scriptures. Thomas McCrie in his "Life of John Knox" says, "Not satisfied with the excerpts from ancient authors, which he found in the writings of the scholastic divines and canonists, he resolved to have recourse to the original works. In them he found a method of investigating and communicating truth, to which he had hitherto been a stranger; the simplicity of which recommended itself to his mind . . . Among the fathers of the Christian Church, Jerome and Augustine attracted his

particular attention. By the writings of the former, he was led to the Scriptures as the only pure fountain of divine truth, and instructed in the utility of studying them in their original languages. In the work of the latter he found religious sentiments very opposite to those taught in the Romish Church, who while she retained his name as a saint in her calendar, had banished his doctrine, as heretical, from her pulpits". Knox did not at once start to learn the original languages. He studied Hebrew while in exile on the Continent. Greek he did not touch until in middle life. But at this stage in his career he became alive to the hidden treasures which lay buried in the Scriptures.

Scotland in his day was under the domination and blind guidance of the Papacy. It had vast wealth; tremendous idleness and ignorance were common among the clergy, who often had several parishes in their charge merely to increase their income. There was persecution and suppression of free inquiry—excommunication was the threat which held an awful fear—it was a religion far removed from apostolic simplicity and Biblical truth. Before Knox appeared on the scene, the Reformed faith had made some progress. Patrick Hamilton, a youth of royal descent, had been its first martyr at the stake in February 1528, at the age of twenty-four. In his short lifetime he had been to Wittemberg and met Luther. Between 1530-1540 the flames of persecution began to burn in all directions. Some recanted, some escaped to England. But the truth was spread through the circulation of Tyndale's translation of the Bible and good books came to Scotland through merchants travelling from abroad. By 1540 many persons of rank in Scotland were numbered among the supporters of the Reformed faith. Between 1540-1542 the numbers of those adhering to the Reformed views rapidly increased. The clergy reacted by presenting lists of people of rank involved to the King to be branded as heretics, but he rejected this proposal. Then in December 1542 King James V of Scotland, died.

In this year it became clear that Knox was a Protestant and for safety he went to southern Scotland. He was pronounced a heretic by the Roman Catholic Church and

stripped of his priesthood. By an act of 1542-3 of the Regent, it was declared legal to read the Bible in the common tongue. This was a great help to the Reformers. Protestant books were now published in Scotland. Knox was helped at this time by George Wishart, a gracious minister, who had been exiled to Cambridge but returned to Scotland in 1544. He became a tutor to the son of a gentleman in East Lothian. In 1547 some members of the Reformed faith seized the castle of St. Andrews, and Knox went there for protection. He gave lectures on the Scriptures and catechised in the parish church attached to the castle. Those who had taken refuge in the castle and attended these lectures urged Knox to preach. After considerable hesitation, feeling his insufficiency for such an office, Knox at last agreed to preach. Of this step McCrie says, "At length, satisfied that he had the call of God to engage in this work, he composed his mind to a reliance on Him who had engaged to make his 'strength perfect in weakness' and resolved with the apostle, 'not to count his life dear, that he might finish with joy the ministry which he received of the Lord, to testify the gospel of the grace of God." Very differently did he approach this step from his ordination as a Roman Catholic priest in 1530. At once he struck out against the Papacy boldly pronouncing the Pope to be anti-Christ and the whole system to be erroneous and unscriptural. This sermon caused a great stir. Knox was called to defend his statements before a committee of learned men. This he did with courage and put his Roman Catholic protagonists to confusion. Had they possessed the Castle of St. Andrews they would have silenced him. In June 1547 a French fleet appeared before St. Andrews to help the Scottish Government reduce the castle to submission. It was invested by land and sea and fell to the Roman Catholic forces in July. The lives of all in the Castle were spared, but they were taken aboard the French fleet to France. Knox, with others, was confined on board the galleys bound in chains and treated as a heretic to work at the oars. In the summer of 1548 the galleys returned to Scotland. By this time Knox's health was very bad. He was taken ill with a fever and it was thought he would die, but on seeing the coast between

Dundee and St. Andrews, Knox said, "Yes, I know it well; for I see the steeple of that place (St. Andrews) where God first opened my mouth in public to His glory; and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till that my tongue shall glorify His goodly name in the same place." While getting better he wrote a confession of his faith. He also annotated a work written in a French prison at Rouen by one of his fellow reformers. His name was Henry Balnaves and the book was called "Justification". At length, after a long tedious imprisonment, Knox obtained his freedom in February 1549—quite how is uncertain.

When freed he went at once to England. Henry VIII had died in 1547 and Edward VI was King under a Regency, with Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury. The latter needed help and Knox was a man suitably qualified to give it. A number of divines had been invited over from the continent as professors at Oxford and Cambridge. Also a number of able ministers were wanted who could carry on an itinerant ministry in various parts of the country. Knox was sent by Cranmer soon after his arrival in England to preach at Berwick. This pleased him as it placed him in contact with his native country. In April 1550 he was arraigned before the Bishop of Durham for preaching that the doctrine of the Mass was idolatrous. He ably defended his case before the bishop and a great assembly of churchmen. In 1551 he moved to Newcastle to live and the Privy Council made him a Chaplain in Ordinary to King Edward VI. In the course of this year he was consulted about the English "Book of Common Prayer", which was being revised and was to be published in 1552 as "the Second Reformed Prayer Book" of the Church of England. His advice helped to remove the idea of the bodily presence of Christ at the Lord's Supper and the act of kneeling to receive the bread and wine. In 1552 he was employed in revising "The Articles of Religion" for the Church of England. For a sermon at Christmas 1552, in which he attacked the Papacy, and suggested Roman Catholics were traitors to the Crown, he was arraigned before the Privy Council by his enemies, but

was acquitted at once. While in London, he preached before the Court of Edward VI, who very much appreciated his sermon. The Privy Council resolved that for the year 1553 he should preach in London and the southern counties. During the year his health, impaired on the French galleys, was bad. In April 1552 he had been offered the living of All-Hallows Church, London, by Cranmer, but had declined because he was unwilling to accept a fixed charge in the Church of England, being of the opinion that it was not sufficiently reformed. At the request of Edward VI, he was offered a bishopric, but refused it on the same grounds as he refused All-Hallows.

On 6th July, 1553 Edward VI died. Knox remained in London until 19th July when Queen Mary was proclaimed sovereign. He was affected by the demonstrations of joy shown by the inhabitants of London for an event which foreshadowed such danger for the Reformed Faith. At once he left London for the north. But since at first Mary showed no signs of violence, in August he returned to the south, preaching to large congregations in Buckinghamshire. At the end of the month he returned to Newcastle. Liberty was promised to Protestants until 20th December, after which they lost the protection of the law. Knox refused however to leave England at once and went on preaching. In January 1554 some of his letters were seized with the intent of procuring evidence against him. He then set out to go to Berwick but on the way, against his own inclinations, he was persuaded by his friends to go to the coast and escape to the Continent, which he did, landing at Dieppe on 28th January, 1554. During the year 1553, he had married Marjory Bowes, whom he had met while in Berwick in 1550.

Arriving on the Continent he had serious doubts as to the rightness of leaving England. His conscience was clear that he had not left through fear of the consequences, but he feared his departure might be a cause of weakness to those left behind. From Dieppe he wrote a letter to his friends in London urging them to stand fast. On the last day of February he left Dieppe for Switzerland. In the months that

followed he returned to Dieppe on two occasions, in May and July, to receive information about events in England. He took up his residence in Geneva and became acquainted with Calvin and studied under him. Of great use to him was his study of Hebrew. He lived on small sums of money provided by his friends in England and Scotland. He was also helped by the Reformed Churches on the Continent which gave food and shelter to many refugees from England.

The refugees were permitted by the magistrates of various cities to have their own churches for worship. This permission was granted to the English Protestants at Frankfort-on-Main and in November 1554 these people sent to Knox at Geneva to ask him to become their Pastor. Persuaded by Calvin, Knox accepted this pastorate. The order of service was that of the French Protestants with whom the English refugees had to share the Church building. Sad to say, in March 1555, dissension broke out between two groups of English exiles over the order of service. It was started by a group who had come from Zurich, who wanted to use the Prayer Book of Edward VI. This group went to the magistrates of Frankfort and accused Knox of treason, because of some remarks he had made about the marriage of Queen Mary to Philip of Spain. Philip of Spain was the son and heir of Charles V, Emperor of Germany. Against their own inclination, the magistrates were forced to take action and Knox had to leave Frankfort and return to Geneva. The English congregation was then split, some going to Geneva with Knox, some going to Basle, and others staying at Frankfort.

Knox now decided to visit Scotland where things were a little easier for Protestants. One of the reasons was to see his wife whom he had not seen for two years. After the fall of St. Andrew's Castle in 1547, persecution had been very extensive, aimed at wiping out the Protestants. But persecution only gave the Reformed Faith strength. Then when persecution began in England in the reign of Mary in 1554, things became easier in Scotland. The Queen Dowager, who was appointed Regent in 1554, was not too friendly with Queen Mary and this encouraged some of the English exiles to come to Scotland. Knox left Geneva in August 1555 and

went via Dieppe to Berwick. Then he went on to Edinburgh, where at the home of one of the burgesses, he preached constantly to ever increasing congregations. He wrote to his mother-in-law, "My journey to Scotland was most contrary to my own judgement . . . yet I praise God . . . for you (his mother-in-law), whom He made the instrument to draw me from the den of my own ease (his study at Geneva), to contemplate and behold the fervent thirst of my brethren, night and day, sobbing and groaning for the bread of life. If I had not seen it with my eyes, in my own country, I could not have believed it . . . I cannot but accuse and condemn my slothful coldness. God grant them their heart's desire, 4th November, 1555". He urged his friends of the Reformed faith to separate completely from the Roman Catholic Church. Some of them were still attending its services and even Masses. All eventually agreed with him to come out of it and worship separately. He travelled through Scotland visiting the homes of the nobility and preaching and administering the Lord's Supper. Lord Lorn (afterwards the Earl of Argyle) and Lord James Stewart (afterwards the Earl of Murray and Regent of Scotland came to hear his preaching. Secrecy was closely maintained for some time after his arrival in Scotland, so that he preached in many places before the Roman Catholic clergy were aware of his presence. Eventually in May 1556 he was summoned to appear before an assembly of clergy at Edinburgh to answer for the "heresy" he was preaching. The clergy did not expect him to attend, and when they realised that it was his firm intention to appear to defend the Protestant cause in public, fearing the consequences of a public confrontation, they cancelled the assembly. Instead Knox went and preached to larger congregations than he had ever had in Edinburgh, preaching twice a day for the next ten days, none of the clergy daring to stop him. Encouraged by his success he wrote to the Queen Regent asking for her protection for the Reformed faith. But she treated his appeal lightly.

In July 1556 Knox received letters from Geneva telling him that he had been chosen Pastor of the English Congregation at Geneva. So, taking his wife and mother-in-law, he

left Scotland and returned to Switzerland. The Roman Catholic clergy at once pronounced him a heretic, condemned him to death in his absence, and burnt an effigy of him at the Cross of Edinburgh. During this visit Knox had done much to lay the foundations of the Reformation in Scotland. The country was not yet ready for a full change, so until it was, Knox went abroad, leaving instructions with his fellow reformers how to carry on in his absence. At Geneva two sons were born to his wife. Just over a year later he received an invitation to return to Scotland. This was in October 1557, and so, leaving his congregation at Geneva, he set out for Dieppe, but on arrival at the port, he received news that there were divisions among those who wished for his return. So he did not proceed to Scotland but remained in France and learnt the language and preached to congregations of persecuted French Protestants, becoming minister for a short while of the French Protestant Church at Dieppe.

Early in 1558 he returned to Geneva and helped with others in the translation of the Geneva Bible, published in 1560. He also wrote his famous treatise, "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women." In it he strongly deprecated the practice of allowing women to govern nations. He was especially roused by Mary's Government in England and the Queen Regent's in Scotland. The influence of this work was felt in England as late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth who resented Knox's remarks about women rulers. In December the Protestant Lords of Scotland renewed their invitation to Knox to return to his home-country. Following his advice they had formed themselves into congregations, which met in private in various parts of the country, electing elders and deacons, though for the time they were without ministers. War between England and Scotland at the end of 1556 and the beginning of 1557 had resulted in greater liberty for Protestants in Scotland. But in August 1558 the persecutions were renewed and an aged ex-Catholic priest was burnt at the age of eighty-two. This barbarous murder roused the nation to such a pitch that people openly assembled to attend the Reformed services. The Protestant leaders met in Edinburgh in July 1558 to ask

the Queen Regent to stop the persecutions and grant religious liberty. The Regent showed consideration for the proposals and offered to help when she was able. When Knox heard this news, and also that Queen Mary had died in England and was succeeded by Queen Elizabeth, he began preparations to return. He left Geneva for the last time in January 1559. He was now fifty-four and before him lay the great years of the Reformation in Scotland, until his death thirteen years later in 1572.

He was refused permission to travel through England by Queen Elizabeth on account of his attack on women rulers, and so went direct to Leith, he landed on 2nd May, 1559. On arrival he learnt that the Queen Regent had thrown off her deceptive attitude toward the Protestants and was preparing to crush the Reformation with force. All Scottish subjects had been ordered to attend the Easter Mass and some of the Reformed ministers were ordered to appear at Stirling on 10th May to be tried for heresy. Knox was proclaimed an outlaw and a rebel by the Provincial Council in Edinburgh immediately on his arrival in the City. Unperturbed he stayed there for a day or two before going on to Stirling to attend the trial of the Reformed ministers. A large group of Protestants were preparing to go to Stirling. To avoid giving the appearance of a rebel group, they sent to the Queen Regent to tell her of their intentions. She told them to stop their journey and she would stop the trial. So the Protestants returned home, only to find that on the day of the trial the summonses were read by order of the Queen and the Ministers were outlawed for not attending. This treachery so angered the Protestants that after a service at Perth, at which Knox preached against the Mass and image worship, a riot broke out as a Catholic priest attempted to celebrate a Mass immediately afterwards. This ended in the altar, images and ornaments of the Church being destroyed and was followed by the destruction of two monasteries. This action was not inspired by Knox and was the work of a gang of hooligans and not of the sober part of the Reformed Congregation. Knox wished for the removal of Romish idolatry in a regular manner. The riot was a great help to

the Queen Regent who now accused the Reformers of rebellion. She at once advanced to Perth with an army. The Reformers, protesting their innocence, were forced to fortify the town to defend themselves. This they did so well that the Queen refrained from attacking it. Instead she negotiated with them, and eventually the Protestant forces agreed to disband on certain promises being given by her.

After these events, the Protestant Lords decided to introduce the Reformation in Scotland in those places over which they had control. St. Andrews was the first place they chose. It was arranged for Knox to preach there at the Abbey Church. There was opposition from the Catholics, but in the face of threats to his life, he preached on the subject of the ejectment of the buyers and sellers from the temple by Christ. He continued to preach on the three following days with the result that the Provost and inhabitants of St. Andrews agreed to introduce the Reformed worship in their town. The Church was stripped of its images and monasteries were pulled down. This took place on 14th June, 1559 and the example of St. Andrews was quickly followed in other parts of Scotland. The Queen Regent was forced to treat with the Protestants who took over Perth, Stirling and Edinburgh, while she retired to Dunbar. Monasteries were pulled down and all images destroyed. Knox went on a tour of Scotland for two months visiting Kelso, Jedburgh, Dumfries, Ayr, Stirling, Perth, Brechin, Montrose and Dundee, and returning eventually to St. Andrews. In writing about this journey he said, "For now forty days and more hath my God used my tongue in my native land to the manifestation of His glory." In another letter dated 2nd September he wrote, "Enemies we have many, by reason of the French who lately arrived, of whom our Papists hope golden hills. As we be not able to resist, we do nothing but go about Jericho, blowing with trumpets, as God giveth strength, hoping victory by His power alone." In September 1559 his wife and family joined him in Scotland after being granted a safe-conduct through England by Queen Elizabeth, who now felt more favourable to Knox. With them came Christopher Goodman, a former colleague of Knox at Geneva. He

became minister at Ayr and later at St. Andrew's. Prior to September 1559, only eight towns in Scotland had ministers, the scarcity being severely felt in other places.

Help was now sought from England, Knox going in person to Stamford in Lincolnshire to meet the English Secretary of State, Sir Wm. Cecil. England did not wish to see the Scottish Protestants suppressed; on the other hand she did not want to have to send an army to Scotland. So the English Government offered the Scots a monetary subsidy to finance their own forces. By this it was hoped the Scots would expel the French Army and establish the Protestant Faith in Scotland. The Scottish lords met in October 1559 to see if they could remove the Queen Regent from power. The minors to the throne (Francis and Mary) were in France. In the present state of the country it was impossible to have a properly convened Parliament, but an Assembly of nobles met in Edinburgh on 21st October and suspended the Queen from her authority as Regent and elected a Council to administer the country until a free Parliament should meet. Then the Protestants suffered a setback when the subsidy sent from England was captured by Roman Catholic supporters of the Queen before it reached Edinburgh. Some of the soldiers of the Protestant lords mutinied for lack of pay. An attack by the Protestant forces on the port of Leith was repulsed by French troops and finally the Protestants decided to abandon Edinburgh on 5th November, 1559 and retreat to Stirling. In a sermon preached at Stirling soon after their arrival there, Knox told the Reformed party that the Lord had allowed this reverse to make them more dependant on Him and take to Himself all the glory for any future success. He felt sure that eventually they would prevail. The Council of nobles met after the service and decided to send to England for more support. While waiting for its arrival they also decided to divide into two groups, one half to stay at St. Andrews, the other to remain at Glasgow. Knox was appointed to stay at St. Andrews and act as preacher. The Protestant disaster aroused the English to send a navy and an army to Scotland after concluding a treaty with the Scots in February 1560. The army entered Scotland in April and joined forces with the

Scottish Protestants. After an attack on Glasgow in March the French troops had retired to Leith which was fortified for a siege, and invested by land and sea. During the siege the Queen Regent died and the French were forced to agree to a treaty by which they were to evacuate all their troops from Scotland and an amnesty was to be granted to all Protestants engaged in resisting the Queen, and a free Parliament was to be called. Though the treaty made no mention of religious differences, Roman Catholic worship was largely given up in Scotland except for places occupied by the Regent's supporters.

With the embarkation of the French troops, the Reformed religion began to be peacefully introduced all over Scotland. Ministers were appointed in various areas; Knox to Edinburgh, Goodman to St. Andrews, Heriot to Aberdeen, Row to Perth and others to Jedburgh, Dundee, Dunfermline and Leith. Superintendents were chosen for the districts of Lothian, Glasgow, Fife, Angus and Mearns, Argyle and the Isles. Parliament met to legally sanction the change from Roman Catholic to Protestant worship. It opened on the 1st August, 1560 to establish the Reformation in Scotland. On 17th August it sanctioned "a Confession of Faith" drawn up by Knox and his fellow Reformers, embodying Reformed doctrine and using in many instances the very words of the Apostle's Creed and the Articles of the Church of England as established in the reign of Edward VI in England. This was followed on 24th August by three Acts of Parliament. The first abolished for ever the jurisdiction of the Pope in Scotland. The second repealed all former statutes passed in favour of the Roman Catholic Church. The third ordered that all who said Mass or who dared to hear Mass should for the first offence be punished by the confiscation of their goods, for the second be banished from Scotland, and for the third be put to death. So the Reformed faith advanced in Scotland from small beginnings in the face of great opposition, until it received Parliamentary assent.

Knox was now appointed by the Lords of the Privy Council together with five other ministers to produce a system of administration for the new Protestant Church. The result

was what is known as "The First Book of Discipline." Though this was never officially accepted by the Council, due to differences of opinion, it formed the accepted basis for the organisation of the Scottish Reformed Church. It laid down basically four offices in the Church—ministers, doctors or teachers, ruling elders and deacons. The ministers were to preach the Gospel and administer the ordinances. The teachers or doctors were usually men in the Universities and they were to interpret the Scriptures and refute error. The ruling elders were to assist the minister in the discipline and government of the Church. The deacons were to have the oversight of the revenues of the Church and look after the poor. There was also a special group of men called readers who were to help the minister in large parishes in reading the Scriptures, saying prayers and exhorting. Ministers were appointed to large towns. Others in charge of country areas were called Superintendents. Admission to these offices in the Church was by the free election of the people after examination of the candidates by the minister.

The affairs of each Congregation were managed by ministers, elders and deacons who constituted the Kirk-Session which met once a week. The weekly Exercise, or Prophesying was held in every large town, consisting of ministers, exhorters and learned men of the vicinity, for expounding the Scriptures. Twice a year the Superintendent and delegated elders met with the ministers in a Provincial Synod. Twice or three times a year the General Assembly met, composed of ministers and elders from the various parts of the country. Services were held twice on Sundays and catechising in the afternoon. In towns there was a regular weekday sermon and daily prayers and reading the Scriptures. The Lord's Supper was administered four times a year in the towns. The sign of the cross in baptism, kneeling at the Lord's table and religious festivals for saints were abolished. Besides dealing with all these points "The First Book of Discipline" also provided for an education system for the whole country, but this was never adopted. The first General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met in Edinburgh on 20th December, 1560. It consisted of forty

members, six of whom were ministers. Knox was one of these. A Moderator was chosen at each meeting and the doctrinal and administrative affairs of the Church were discussed.

But while the affairs of the Reformation were proceeding satisfactorily, there was still opposition to it. There were serious divisions among the Lords of the Council as to how to spend the money taken over from the Roman Catholic Church. Knox wished it to be used to support the Reformed Churches, set up Schools in towns and villages and help the Universities. But some members of the Council wished to retain these vast resources for their own pockets and add to their estates the lands of the monasteries. This was what was behind the dissension over "The First Book of Discipline", that many of its requirements required financial support. Also a new army was being prepared in France to invade Scotland and it seemed probable that Queen Elizabeth would not intervene a second time to support the Reformed cause. Then a change of events took place with the death of the King of France. The Protestant nobility of Scotland invited their young Queen Mary (Mary Queen of Scots) to return to Scotland which she did on 19th August, 1561. This move exposed the Reformation to more subtle dangers than open warfare, for the young Queen was a confirmed Roman Catholic, and the legitimate heir to the throne, which she had been unable to occupy while a minor. Now it was her determined policy to restore Scotland once more to Roman Catholicism. But since the Protestants were in power, initially, she was forced to temporise, though she annoyed them by having solemn Mass performed at Holyrood Palace on the first Sunday after her arrival.

Knox, deeply conscious of the persecuting policy of the Roman Catholic Church, watched the new Queen closely. Mary particularly hated him because of his book "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous regiment of Women". Soon after her arrival in Scotland she sent for him to come to the Royal Palace at Holyrood and she interviewed him in the presence of her brother, the Prior of St. Andrews. She accused him of raising her subjects against her mother

and herself; of writing a book against her authority; of causing sedition and bloodshed when he was in England; and of accomplishing his purposes by the evil art of magic. Knox answered the first three charges by showing that he was merely defending the truth and exposing error. To the last charge he replied that his Master, the Lord Jesus, had been accused of being in league with Beelzebub. When she went on to say, "Then I perceive my subjects shall obey you and not me," Knox replied, "Both princes and subjects should obey God . . . He craves of Kings, that they be foster-fathers of His Church and commands Queens to be nurses to His people." "But you are not the Church I will nourish," replied the Queen, "I will defend the Church of Rome, for it is, I think, the true church of God." "Your will, madam," replied Knox, "is no reason; neither doth your thought make the Roman harlot to be the true immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ. Wonder not, madam, that I call Rome an harlot, for that Church is altogether polluted with all kinds of spiritual fornication, both in doctrine and manners." "My conscience is not so," said the Queen. "Conscience, madam, requires knowledge, and I fear that right knowledge you have none," replied Knox. "You interpret the Scripture in one way and the Roman Catholic Church in another. Who shall be judge?" asked the Queen. "You shall believe God, who speaketh plainly in His Word," replied the Reformer, "and further than the Word teacheth you shall believe neither the one nor the other. The Word of God is plain in itself; if there is any obscurity in one place, the Holy Ghost, who is never contrary to Himself, explains it more clearly in other places, so that there can remain no doubt, but unto such as are obstinately ignorant." So the interview progressed until the dinner hour put an end to their conversation.

As a result of this meeting Knox formed his opinion of Queen Mary, that she was proud, crafty, obstinately committed to the Roman Catholic Church and averse to all means of instruction. He therefore resolved to watch carefully, and the more the Queen used her arts to win over the Protestant nobles or tried to cool their zeal for the Reformed cause, the louder Knox sounded the alarm in his sermons. Some-

times he used rough, harsh language to admonish the Queen, for he was persuaded that the times required the utmost plainness. Soon the existence of the General Assemblies of the Scottish Church were challenged, as the Queen used her influence to get the courtiers to abstain from attending them and refused to ratify "The Book of Discipline." "Take from us the liberty of Assemblies and take from us the Gospel," said Knox. There then followed a decision of the Privy Council to divide the Church revenues into three parts; two to be given to the ejected Roman Catholic clergy, and one to be divided between the Court and the Protestant ministers. When Knox spoke of "two parts being given to the Devil, and one part being divided between God and the Devil," he was accused of ingratitude for royal generosity. He felt free to speak on this issue because his own salary came partly from friends and partly from the Town Council of the City of Edinburgh who paid him £200 a year.

In May 1562 he had another interview with the Queen. There had been a massacre of Protestants in France in March of that year and on receipt of the news, Mary had celebrated with a dance at her Palace. Knox, being told of the events at the Palace, referred to them in his sermon the following Sunday at St. Giles' Cathedral. This was reported to the Queen who called him to the Palace and questioned him. He ably defended himself against having said anything except what was true and she was forced to accept his explanation. He pointed out that if she chose to attend his services, she could hear his doctrine for herself and would not having to rely on reports. In the Autumn of 1562 a Roman Catholic rising took place in northern Scotland led by the Earl of Huntley, but with Knox's help and influence the Protestant nobles quickly silenced it. Though nothing was proved, it was suspected that the Queen might have known something about it beforehand. She certainly hoped eventually to restore Roman Catholicism in Scotland. In the same period as these events Knox had a public debate on the Mass with a Catholic theologian named Quintin Kennedy. Like Luther's debate with Dr. Eck at Leipzig, no clear victory was obtained by either side, both claiming to have won their case. On

20th May, 1562 the Queen held her first Parliament since coming to Scotland, and it was expected that it would ratify all the Acts passed relating to the Reformation. The Queen had often declared that all the Reformation Acts were invalid, since they had not been ratified by a Sovereign but only by a Council of State. So cleverly did she act, arresting leading Catholics on 19th May and making a very favourable impression in her speech to the Parliament, that they did not consider it necessary to ratify the Reformation Acts and so left the Queen free to maintain that the Acts were still illegal. Thus the Protestant Faith lacked the legal security necessary for its ratification as the established religion of Scotland. Knox quickly interviewed several members of Parliament but failed to make them realise the danger of leaving this matter unsettled. Before the end of the Parliament Knox, in preaching to a large number of the M.P.'s who had come to his Church, referred to the dangers of leaving the Reformation without a legal foundation and went on to mention another danger, the possibility of the Queen marrying a Roman Catholic, in which case he prophesied the banishment of Protestantism from Scotland. Protestants and Roman Catholics resented Knox's intrusion into the Queen's affairs. She summoned him to answer for preaching against her marriage and he had to go to defend his statements. Though she wept in his presence, much of it in anger, he was unmoved since he believed that it was merely a device to embarrass him. She accused him of being ruthless, merciless and unkind, but history has vindicated him in his judgement of Queen Mary as a very clever, deceitful and unprincipled woman. Eventually she ordered him out of her presence and discussed with her advisers whether to have him tried at law for his remarks. Many of his friends were cool to him in this crisis fearing that the royal displeasure might fall on them as well, but she did not proceed with the matter.

The Queen now waited her time to accuse Knox of a punishable offence and so imprison him and silence his ministry which she so deeply resented. In August, while she was staying at Stirling, some of her servants at Holyrood

Palace celebrated Mass in the Chapel there. Some Protestants entered and protested. When the Queen heard, she asked for the prosecution of two of the leading Protestants. Fearing that this was the beginning of a widespread attack, the Protestants in Edinburgh suggested to Knox that he send out a circular letter to the leading Protestant gentry in Scotland, requesting that they come to Edinburgh on the day of the trial. A copy of this letter fell into the hands of the Queen at Stirling and she showed it to her Privy Council, who considered it treasonable, the suspicion being that Knox was raising a rebellion. Knox was summoned to appear at Edinburgh in December to stand trial before a Council of noblemen and royal counsellors at which the Queen herself was to be present. After a lengthy trial in which Knox justified his action in calling on these Protestant gentry as a necessary means to protect Protestants from the cruelty of the Roman Catholics, and having pointed out that his fears were against the Roman Catholic advisers of the Queen, and not against herself, he was asked to leave the Court while a decision was reached. By a majority vote the noblemen and counsellors found him not guilty of treason, recording their vote in the presence of the Queen who had herself cross-questioned Knox. Knox's principal justification had been that as a minister he spent all his life calling men together to assemblies either for preaching or for Church business, such as the great Assemblies of the Church of Scotland. No evidence could be produced to show that he called this assembly of his followers for any other reason than to support publicly the men about to be tried. There was never any question of an armed rebellion. Thus the Lord protected Knox from the craft and envy of Mary, and shortly afterwards the matter was dealt with by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which by an overwhelming majority authorised Knox to warn their members of any danger he saw threatening the Protestant cause.

Knox's first wife had died in 1561 and after three years he was married in March 1564 to Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, a nobleman who consistently supported the Reformed cause. In his preaching he continued to sound

the alarm against the inroads of Roman Catholicism. Many of the more lukewarm Protestant nobility would have liked to hush his voice a little and a move was made in 1564 to do this. Mary objected to his references to her in his public prayers at St. Giles. When referring to her he always asked the Lord, "Illuminate her heart, if Thy good pleasure be," and some of the nobles pointed out to him how offensive this was to the Queen. But Knox maintained that from her conduct toward himself, and her persistent attendance at Mass, he had no evidence that she was truly converted. In 1564 the Queen married Lord Darnley, who favoured the Roman Catholic cause, while sometimes attending Protestant services. On 19th August Darnley attended St. Giles' Cathedral for a solemn service to quieten the fears of the Protestants as to his loyalty to their cause. During the sermon Knox referred to Ahab not correcting his idolatrous wife, Jezebel, and Darnley went back to the Palace at Holyrood in a rage, feeling that Knox was referring to him and Mary. That afternoon Knox was arrested and brought before the Privy Council to answer for his "attack" on the Royal Household. He was told that he was to stop preaching so long as the King and Queen were resident in Edinburgh. Knox refused to obey unless told to do so by a General Assembly of the Church and pointed out how the King had dishonoured God by attending the idolatrous Mass to please Mary. He added that "God in His justice would make her the instrument of his overthrow." This proved true, as there was every suspicion that the Queen was party to the death of her husband, and the remark was regarded, under the Lord's leading, as a prophetic utterance of Knox. The Town Council of Edinburgh were roused at the Royal interference in their preaching and requested the King and Queen to remove the ban. In fact the Royal Household left Edinburgh before the next Sunday so that it did not last very long and when they returned they did not again enforce it.

But even if the Queen did not enforce the ban on Knox's ministry at St. Giles, she still plotted the restoration of the Roman Catholic Faith in Scotland. In 1566 there occurred the assassination of Rizzio, a favourite of the Queen and the

principal organiser of the measures to restore Roman Catholicism. His death resulted from the fact that he had incurred the jealousy of Lord Darnley, who had him killed. The King and Queen moved to Dunbar, where Darnley, to please the Queen, declared that he had been in no way associated with the death of Rizzio. Mary then raised an army and went to Edinburgh. Knox left the city and went to Kyle, not because he had been implicated in the Rizzio murder, but because he had publicly declared his belief that the death of Rizzio had contributed to the safety of Protestantism. The Queen determined to prevent him from ever again returning to Edinburgh, and Knox did not in fact return to his ministry there until Mary was removed from the throne.

So, being free for the time he decided to visit England, where his two sons were at schol. While he was away, two things happened in Scotland. On 23rd December, 1566 the Queen restored the Roman Catholic Archbishop of St. Andrews to his former powers in defiance of the 1560 Reformation Act. The second event changed the whole course of Scottish history. The Queen, who had fallen out with her husband, Lord Darnley, over the murder of Rizzio, now turned against him in bitter hatred and found a favourite in the Earl of Bothwell. Darnley was decoyed to a house near Edinburgh on 9th February, 1567 and murdered in a gunpowder explosion which destroyed the whole place. Evidence all pointed to the fact that Bothwell was behind the murder and the Queen knew of it. Shortly afterwards she married Bothwell. Events quickly followed in which the nobles of Scotland acted to avenge the King's death and preserve the infant prince of the marriage, James (later James I, King of England). Bothwell fled and Mary was captured and imprisoned, at the same time resigning the power of government. During the minority of the new young King, James VI, the Earl of Murray was appointed Regent of Scotland.

Knox returned to Edinburgh, and was present at the General Assembly of the Church which met there in June 1567 and preached on 29th July at the Coronation of James VI in the parish Church of Stirling. The young King swore in his coronation oath to preserve the Protestant religion in

Scotland. The next question was the position of the Queen who was confined in the castle of Lochleven. Some thought she should be exiled; others imprisoned for life; others executed. Knox and many of the church leaders were for the sentence of death, on the grounds of her adultery and complicity in the murder of her husband. Many disagreed with Knox's view. The English Ambassador in Scotland had an interview with him to persuade him to change his mind, but though he eventually accepted the decision of the lords to keep the Queen in prison and spare her life, he retained his view that she ought to have been executed, and when her eventual escape led to the renewal of the civil war in Scotland, he felt it was the nation's reward for not executing her.

The Regent, the Earl of Murray, called a Parliament in December 1567 to deal with grievances over which the Protestant Church had complained for a long time. Knox hoped that this Parliament would finally settle the affairs of the Church which Mary had cleverly left in abeyance. It ratified all the previous Reformation Acts passed in 1560 in favour of Protestantism. A new Act allowed only Protestant princes to occupy the Scottish throne, and all offices which were other than hereditary were to be occupied by Protestants. Proper salaries were to be paid to the Protestant ministers and money was allowed for the upkeep of the Church and its institutions. Not all the grievances were removed however, there still being a lack of money for Knox's education programme.

These days were for Knox some of the happiest of his life, as she saw the Reformation established more firmly in Scotland and could rest for a while and look back over the years of suffering and endurance. The Church was freed from Roman Catholic oppression and error, and many of the threats to its security and survival removed, and Knox now hoped to be able to live out the remainder of his life more peacefully, perhaps even leaving Edinburgh to take some quiet country parish away from the bustle of state affairs, which had occupied so much of his time. But it was not to be so; "the Lord's ways were not his," and he had further trials

to endure before his death in 1572. Once again he was to witness the Reformed cause under attack and leave it in danger when he died, or as we would feel, in the hands of the Lord who had formed it and would preserve it of His own accord, thus showing that the Church's strength rested in her Lord and not in His agent's hands, even though he were a Reformer and a godly man.

From the moment Murray took office as Regent, he had enemies. Some lords, led by the Hamiltons and the Argyles, refused to recognise his authority. When the Queen escaped from prison, these men took up her cause, but they were defeated and Mary was eventually forced to flee from Scotland. Her party was broken up and Murray reduced the whole of Scotland to obedience to his rule. Failing in achieving their objects, the Queen's party resolved to assassinate Murray. In 1568 one such plot was discovered before it was successful. But shortly afterwards, in January 1570, they were successful. Murray was fatally wounded at Linlithgow, being shot in the stomach with a musket ball, from which he died the same evening. The nation was shaken by the tragedy, especially the members of the Reformed cause, whose protector he had been. In England also there was concern at the event. Knox, though he had not agreed with Murray in all matters, had a high regard for the Regent, who had favoured the Reformed cause for many years. In preaching on the day after his death, Knox said of the Regent, "He is at rest, O Lord, we are left in extreme misery." The Regent was noted for his kindness and humanity. The assassin was a man who had been tried for treason and released as an act of mercy by the Regent at Knox's request. All this seemed doubly tragic to Knox, that he had been the instrument of the assassin's release. On 14th February the Regent's body was brought to Holyrood Palace and later interred in the south aisle of the Collegiate Church of St. Giles' Cathedral. Knox preached a sermon from the text, "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord." From this one gathers that he had good reason to believe the Regent was a converted man.

The grief which he felt and the political confusion in Scotland which followed the Regent's death, now hastened

Knox's end. In October 1570 he had a stroke which affected his speech considerably, and many wondered if he would ever preach again. He was about sixty-five at the time. The Earl of Lennox, grandfather of the young James VI, became Regent. He was a weak ruler. The Hamiltons openly raised revolt and even the Governor of Edinburgh Castle went over to their side. This was a great blow to Knox, who had known the Governor as a fellow prisoner for the Reformed cause, in his days of imprisonment on the French galleys in the years 1547-1549, and had hoped that he favoured the Reformed cause not merely from political motives but because he understood and believed it. In April 1571, the Governor received the Hamiltons and their followers into Edinburgh Castle and now Knox was in real danger, so that his friends guarded his home at night in case he was attacked. One evening, as he sat at dinner, a shot was fired into the room, lodging in the timbers of the ceiling. Rather than allow civil war to break out in Edinburgh, if he were assassinated, he was persuaded by his friends to go to St. Andrews. This he did in May 1571 and stayed there for over a year. The Government was very weak, with the Regent being unable to control the capital properly, let alone the rest of the country. Nobles again began to talk of securing for themselves some of the money of the Church. Knox made efforts to stop these encroachments, but without much success.

In the Spring of 1572 he rapidly became worse and it was thought that he would die at St. Andrews. But in consequence of a treaty between the Queen's supporters and the City of Edinburgh, the Queen's forces left the Castle in July 1572 and the members of the Church of St. Giles sent a deputation requesting Knox to return to them. And so in August he returned to Edinburgh and his own pulpit at St. Giles. But his voice was now so feeble that he could not be heard by half the congregation. Realising that his end was near, he arranged for the appointment of a successor, and James Lawson, sub-principal of the College at Aberdeen, was chosen as his deputy, to succeed him eventually in his ministry at St. Giles. In September 1572 news reached Scot-

land of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, initiated by the murder of the French Protestant leader, Admiral Coligny, and followed by the general massacre of Protestants in Paris and other cities: an event for which the Pope struck a commemorative medal for the 'victory'. Knox was deeply grieved in his last days as the first reports of the beginnings of the slaughter reached Scotland. He went into his pulpit in St. Giles and with his failing strength condemned the murderous King of France. The French Ambassador asked the Regent to silence him, and when he refused, the Ambassador left Scotland in protest. On 9th November, 1572 he preached his last sermon at the Tolbooth Church, at the inaugural service for Lawson, his successor. He returned home, the streets lined with his supporters, a worn out old man leaning heavily on his stick. He never went out again and gradually grew weaker until he died on 24th November, 1572. He was sixty-seven. His life had been spent in the service of the Reformed cause in Scotland. No name ranks higher than his in that cause. Few suffered as much and none had more courage than he, nor such a firm conviction of the rightness of the cause. He was buried on 26th November in the Churchyard of St. Giles. A great crowd of nobility and people attended his funeral. The newly elected Regent, Morton, spoke the well-known words as his body was laid in the grave, "There lies he, who never feared the face of man." The position of his grave is now lost, Parliament Square, Edinburgh being on the site of the old St. Giles' Churchyard. But if his grave is lost like that of Calvin, his memory survives as fresh today as it ever did. The truths for which he laboured are still to be heard preached in that great city and in the outer isles of Scotland, and though the light may be dimmed it is our earnest desire that in our own generation we may once again witness a revival in Scotland, England and Wales of the great truths for which Knox and his fellow Reformers contended in their lives.

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